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counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical rawhide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling parfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kaka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, *b*) has various wasóo ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, *c*) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, *d*) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, *a*) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

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thongs, tied together at the ends with a medicine-bag, and four brass bells (Fig. 29, *b*), is tied to the hair over the front of the head. When the warriors sing before dressing for battle, this head-dress is also used as a rattle. The medicine attached to it is chewed, and rubbed over the owner's body, as well

Fig. 27. (50-1952 a) Medicine-case for War Paraphernalia. Length, 40 cm.

as over his horse's, after he has painted himself. Two plumes of eagle-down (Fig. 29, *c*) are tied to the horse. One is tied to its fore-leg, the other to its tail. Then it will not be shot, and, if it falls, will not be hurt. In case of flight and pursuit, a little medicine that is attached to these plumes in a small

[text continues on p. 195]

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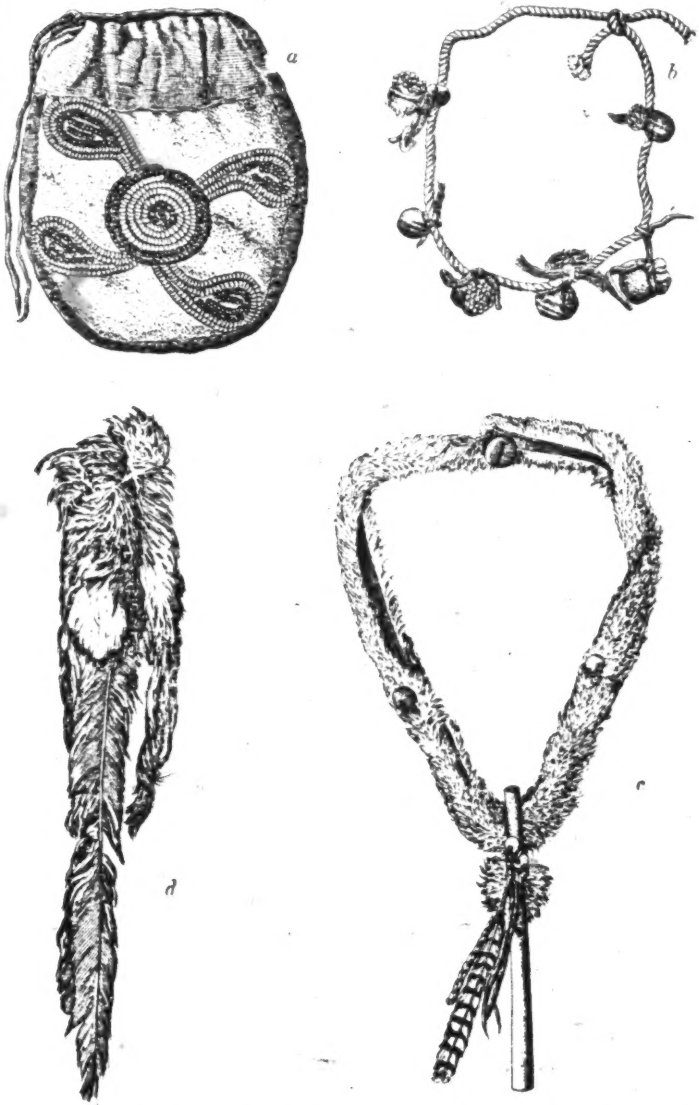

Fig. 28 (50–1952 b, c, d, e). War Paraphernalia. Lengths, 15 cm., 9 cm., 45 cm., 40 cm.

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bag is given to the horse to prevent its becoming exhausted. A cloth to wrap the various feathers and the whistle completes the outfit.

A warrior's outfit that was obtained for the Museum (specimen Museum No. 50–1862 a–c) consists of a beaded knife-scabbard, carried because the owner has cut loose horses that were tied by a rope leading into a tent; of a man's awl-case, carried presumably for mending moccasins and for

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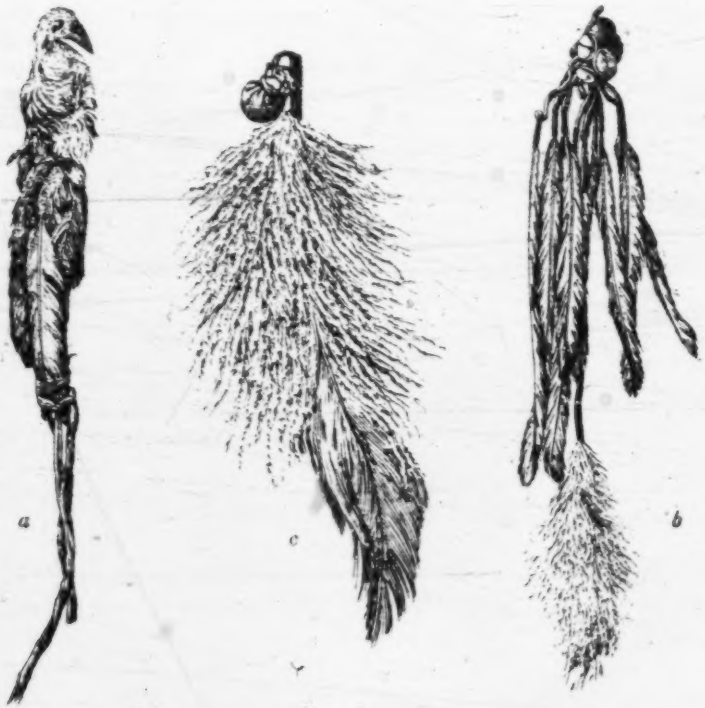

Fig. 29 (50–1952, f, g, h). War Paraphernalia. Lengths, 32 cm., 20 cm., 20 cm.

similar purposes; and of a piece of a scalp ornamented with beads, and worn attached to the shoulder of his shirt. The scabbard is ornamented with rectangular U-shaped bead-work designs similar to those in Fig. 3, and representing horse-tracks.

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Sometimes in dreaming, a man saw a person in battle wearing the skin of a certain animal, and fighting very successfully. He would then wear the skin of that animal. Specimen Museum No. 50–1901 is a weasel-skin

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used in this way. The owner twice dreamed of a weasel, which told him to use its skin. Thereupon he first wore a weasel-skin in dances, and later carried it to war. Subsequently he lent it to his son and to other men who went to war, and they always returned successfully.

A man to whom a fisher had appeared in a dream or vision used a fish-skin medicine-bag, and on going to war carried this with him.

A renowned warrior, dead for some time, received his personal medicine from the bears, and was forbidden to scalp, count coup on the enemy, or take away a gun. He could only kill. He once killed two Sioux with one shot, at a place which received its name from the event.

A simple riding-whip (specimen Museum No. 50–1821) has on its wooden handle four red marks, each of which is said to represent an enemy struck in the face with a whip in battle.

Representations, used in the modern "war-dance," of the weapons of Black-Wolf, a well-known Gros Ventre warrior, part of whose experiences in war are told below, consist of a shield and spear. The shield, which is made of painted white cloth, represents the shield carried by him on an occasion when he rushed to battle with no other weapon. The shield is decorated with a blue crescent along the lower edge, representing the sun, and bordered by a wavy red line denoting lightning. The wooden spear and spear-point represent a spear with which the owner stabbed a Piegan in battle. The spear-point is painted blue and red; the blue representing iron, the red blood. Red marks on the handle of the spear represent coups.

A pair of beaded and painted moccasins executed by a woman, but designed by an old man, symbolize his exploits in war. An outside rim of beading represents the enemy's camp-circle. In the middle of the camp-circle is beaded the figure of a tent belonging to a chief. To this tent was tied a horse, which the wearer of the moccasins cut loose. This feat is represented by an outline painting of a horse and halter. Three U-shaped figures, also painted, are horse-tracks, and represent the capture of horses. On the other moccasin there are again three such figures in a row, which here were said to indicate a charge on horseback on the camp; while two other such figures, facing each other, indicate a face-to-face fight.

Curtains hanging behind the bed in front of the tent-wall were sometimes painted to illustrate the owner's achievements in war.

WAR-EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUALS.

The following narratives give an entirely personal account of the war-experiences of three individuals, two of them men of about sixty years of

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Doctors were paid a horse or more for their services. Sometimes several, in turn, doctored a patient, each one blaming those that had failed before. Often they laid the sickness to spirits, or to other doctors. This last occurred especially if in their sucking they extracted human finger-nails or similar objects. In such a case the doctor got his patient to sleep. The patient might then in his dream see the person that had made him sick, and on awaking would denounce him. If the sick man died, his relatives might kill the doctor whom he had named as the cause of his sickness.

There were not so many women doctors as men. They appear not to have gone out to the mountains with the intention of acquiring supernatural power, but to have received guardian spirits when they were away from the camp, mourning.

The jugular and femoral arteries and the aorta were called ts'niinotanoudj[1] ("having no ears"), because, when severed, they did not heed any remedies.

In order to save the life of a sick relative, the joint of the little finger was sometimes cut off in sacrifice to the sun.

There were some medicine-men who, having had their fingers tied, then had their knees fastened together and their hands secured behind their back. After this they were wrapped in a robe and the robe was wound about with a rope. Then such a medicine-man called his spirit. When it appeared, he was loosened instantaneously, and the robe and the rope were thrown at the man that tied him.

Fig. 30 (50 1937). Doctor's Charm. Length, 22 cm.

A charm used by a doctor is shown in Fig. 30. It consists of a deer-tail with beaded base, and of two black feathers and a bunch of down feathers. All parts of the object are reddened. This piece was used to brush patients. At other times during the doctoring it was worn on the medicine-man's clothing.[2]

A man unsuccessful in winning a woman's love sometimes fasted on a

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crushed and mixed with fat. When the painting was completed, food from the young men's parents was brought to the old men. The old men also presented their "grandsons" with food. The food was then eaten. During the day the dancers and their "grandfathers" were in the dancing-lodge. In connection with the beginning of the dancing, a badger-skin was used. This was entirely wrapped, except at the head, in a flat rope of rawhide, half of which (one side?) was painted red, the other half black. This skin lay on the ground before the pledger of the dance, in or in front of his small enclosure, with the head toward the east. Glowing charcoal was laid before the row of bows, and sweet-grass (niasō; Arapaho, nioxᵘ) was put on the coals to incense the bows. The pledger, rising, took the badger-skin, and, holding it with the head pointing forward, walked slowly around the inside of the lodge, and then to the smouldering incense, over which he made four passes with the skin; then returning to his enclosure, he laid the badger-skin on the ground. Taking out a stick tied in with the skin, he struck the skin as hard as he could. At this, a singer at the middle of the back or western end of the lodge — who held a stick as high as a man, wrapped with buckskin, and with buffalo or antelope hoofs hanging along its length — struck the end on the ground, thus beginning the rattling that accompanied the singing. The old men began to sing, while the dancers simultaneously blew their whistles, and cried "Yaa!" The old men stood up and sang, and the dancers went to them, each of them to his "grandfather," usually three or four to one old man. The old men then drilled them, showing them how to dance and how to handle their bows and their robes. It seems that the dancers stood at the opening of the lodge, somewhat on the south. After dancing to four songs, during which they whistled and at the end of each of which they cried "Yaa," they dashed off in a race around a monument that had been erected at some distance to the southeast. If one of the division of tall men returned to the lodge first and thus won the race for his side, the short men filled pipes for the tall men and presented them to them to smoke, and, of course, *vice versâ*.

After the cessation of the dancing, and when it was dark, old men cried out to the people to retire to their tents, the dancers' wives being about to go out with the "grandfathers." As the women went out, the dancers stood in the lodge in a circle, singing loudly and shouting in conclusion. The "grandfathers" went to the north of the camp-circle, where they stood in a row. Their "grand-daughters," that is to say, the dancers' wives, each carrying a pipe, followed them, and stood behind them. They addressed their "grandfathers," praying them to take the pipe and smoke it. After much persuasion, the old man accepted the pipe. Then the woman prayed to him again, asking him to pray in her behalf, that she might be

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796 171 The Gros Ventre also introduce into the ceremony a thunder symbolism that the Arapaho lack, or have in a much less developed form. The lightning symbol on the centre pole, from which water can be drawn, and the power of the thunder to strike with lightning any dancer who drinks other water than this, evidence this.

Another element special to the Gros Ventre is the introduction of ceremonies relating to war, such as the dramatic performances and the seeing of the approach of the enemy by the pledger.

Features introducing miraculous and sometimes purely personal supernatural powers are apparently quite lacking from the Arapaho ceremony. Among the Gros Ventre there are the raising of the centre pole, the production of water from the centre pole with the crow, the clairvoyance of the pledger as regards the enemy, and the visions of some of the dancers.

In summary, the exact duration and sequence of all events in the Gros Ventre ceremony are not yet clear; the preliminary prairie-chicken tent does not correspond very closely to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; and the connection of the ceremony with the thunder, the introduction of warlike elements, and that of miraculous or personal features, are peculiar, or nearly so, to the Gros Ventre as compared with the Arapaho.

MODERN CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

778 171 The recent ceremonial objects of the Gros Ventre are somewhat different from those of the Arapaho. The Arapaho were deeply affected by the ghost-dance movement, more, it is said, than any other tribe; and many of their modern religious regalia have a distinct character of their own. [668 177] The Gros Ventre received the ghost-dance from the Arapaho, but it seems to have taken little hold of them. The only distinctive ghost-dance objects seen or obtained were two small hoops and a few balls, all of which 177 778 796 resemble Arapaho types. The chief modern dance-ceremony of the Gros Ventre, the only one performed at present, is the grass or war dance obtained from the Sioux, and evidently a modification of the widespread Omaha dance upon which the Arapaho crow-dance is also based. This dance has in recent years been still further modified, until its character now is very similar to that of the crow-dance. [178] The regalia used in this dance at present are very individual, usually crude, and almost always stylistically degenerate. The delicate character and distinct style of the majority of modern Arapaho dance-objects are lacking.

171 778 237 The treatment of feathers in such objects is quite different among the Gros Ventre and Arapaho. The Gros Ventre rarely ornament their feathers

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with dyed plumes or tufts of horsehair, as the Arapaho so frequently do both at the base and top of the feather. Feathers with the vanes cut from the quill, except at the very top, are also scarcely used by the Gros Ventre. Instead, they usually cut the feather squarely off across its end, or split the quill, from the end down, for the greater part of its length. Sometimes the uppermost part of the quill is entirely removed, with its attached portions of the vanes, leaving the top of the feather forked. Plume-feathers are also much less used by the Gros Ventre than by the Arapaho. In dyeing, the Gros Ventre generally used cruder colors; a blue-violet, a pink-red, a light-bluish green, and yellow, all of them aniline colors, being the most common. The Arapaho use true red and green more frequently, and in most cases employ the dyes more lightly, thus obtaining endurable or delicate effects where the Gros Ventre are garish.

The Gros Ventre methods of feather-treatment, both the cutting-off and the splitting of the end of the feather, go back, at least in part, to their older tribal ceremonies. Both these processes are found employed on the dog-dance regalia described.

As regards other differences, the Gros Ventre probably employ more weasel-skin in ornaments than the Arapaho, though far less than their neighbors the Blackfeet. They use cloth (both cotton and woollen goods), red, green, or blue, without reluctance; whereas the Arapaho have clung very tenaciously to skin in all ceremonial objects. Skin thongs and sinew for binding are, however, very rarely replaced by strings and thread, even with the Gros Ventre.

The few objects obtained belonging to the ghost-dance movement are the following.

Fig. 41 shows an imitation of a netted playing-wheel. The piece is about two inches in diameter. The stitch of the meshes seems to be correct, though there are fewer meshes than in the full-sized wheels. The "crow," the centre mesh, is painted red; the rest of the thong, yellow. To the centre mesh are attached four magpie-feathers cut off across. This object was wórn tied to the hair on the side of the head, or hanging from the little finger when the people joined hands to dance. Several very similar objects, lacking the feathers, are attached to the girl's painted dress shown in "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate LXXV).

A head-dress consisting of a hoop of about the same size, quill-wound and bisected by two quill-wound strings, and of three long, blue-and-white quill-wound pendant thongs with plume-feathers at the ends, was collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is not known whether it belongs to the war-dance or the ghost-dance; its general similarity to certain Arapaho head-dresses

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makes the latter seem possible. It differs from Arapaho objects chiefly in that the color-ornamentation of the quill-wrapping divides the hoop into three instead of four parts. At the upper end of the hoop is attached a bunch of seven small strips of whitish rabbit-fur, resembling the weasel-skin style of ornamentation characteristic of the Blackfoot.

Two balls (Figs. 24 and 25) are identical in character with Arapaho ghost-dance objects, and the latter was made in connection with the movement. These balls are described above.

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Fig. 41 (50–1922). Wheel head-dress. Length, 21 cm.

The following objects, many of which were obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler and which were probably not connected with the ghost-dance, are of a character that does not seem to make it worth while to represent them in illustrations; but they resemble Arapaho or other pieces sufficiently for a brief description. They all appear to have been used in the war or grass dance.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1742 is a feathered crook modelled on the familiar type of curved lance that is common on the Plains, and to which the otterskin-wrapped lances of the second degree of the second Arapaho tribal ceremony belong.[1] The Gros Ventre too had such crooked lances in probably two of their tribal ceremonies. The present piece is about four feet long, and made of a stick painted yellow. There is no blade, or representation of it, at the lower end. At the end of the crook hangs a single eagle-feather. The greater portion of the shaft is covered by a casing of green cloth from which hang, attached by thongs and sinew wrapping painted yellow, a row of eighteen eagle-feathers.

A forked stick (specimen Museum No. 50–4328) resembles the Arapaho pieces of this kind described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 358). It is about six feet long, quite slender, and painted red. Some distance in the fork a quill-covered hoop is attached to the two spreading sticks. This hoop is red, with four white, blue-bordered areas on it. The ends of the fork are ornamented with a short green-cloth fringe, tufts of yellow-dyed hair, and feathers notched at the top. From the junction of the two arms downward,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, Plate XXXII.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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the stick is first covered with green cloth, then with skin covered with red and blue quill-work, and at the pointed end is bare, except for its red paint. 778 293

A feathered wheel a foot or a foot and a half across (specimen Museum No. 50–4292) is covered with red, blue, green, yellow, white, and black feathers and plumes, many of them dyed, and tied to the hoop without any attempt at color-pattern or other arrangement. Most of the feathers have the quill split. 171

Another hoop (specimen Museum No. 50–1745) is a little smaller, and is covered with brown buffalo-fur instead of feathers. At one point, five split owl-feathers and six black unsplit feathers are attached; at a place opposite, two small yellowed feathers, one with a green plume at the base.

Other specimens secured by Dr. Clark Wissler are a ceremonial spoon with long, thin, decorated handle, and a quirt. The latter (specimen Museum No. 50–4305) is similar to Arapaho ceremonial quirts.[1] A heavy wooden handle consists of two parts, — the handle proper and a longer portion with five deep notches in the lower edge. The upper edge is straight. The part of the handle that is notched is ornamented with brass tacks. From the end of the stick hang two ends of thong, the whip. At the handle is attached a skin of a fox or similar animal, ornamented with eagle-feathers. 171 415 778

A feather shield consists essentially of a circle of radiating feathers, worn on the back. 171 293

A crow-belt, also secured by Dr. Clark Wissler, is quite similar to the Arapaho one described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 345). It is interesting that of the five Arapaho pieces in the Museum, this is at once the crudest in construction, and the most perverted by white influence from aboriginal style. In the present Gros Ventre belt, a rectangular piece of rawhide is bent over a stick as a support for the remainder of the specimen. The two hanging "tail" strips are of yellow cloth, quite narrow, hanging apart. Eagle-feathers, some dyed red, are attached to them. The belt proper is formed by two pieces of woven yarn. In the middle of the piece are attached the head and breast of an eagle. Below this, between the two hanging strips, is an ornament of a row of eagle-feathers pointing downward. These are attached in the folded edge of a squarish piece of rawhide, thus resembling the analogous piece in the Arapaho crow-belt referred to and the Arapaho biitaha"wu head-dresses. The ornament, however, is fastened to the remainder of the piece, so that it cannot have been worn as a head-dress. The two usual projecting arms consist each of a black eagle-wing feather, with a strip of quill-embroidery laid along the quill of the feather, and with several small bells, 778 [237]

[1] Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. XIV, p. 987, Fig. 94), shows a very similar quirt attributed to the dog-dance.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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171 whitish fur, and dyed horsehair tufts at the ends. At the base of each arm
293 are red, yellow, and violet feathers. These are either cut off across the end,
778 or have the uppermost part of the quill with its attached vanes removed.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH RELIGION.

171 Sacred pipes were important in the religion of the Gros Ventre. The
276 beliefs and practices connected with these differ somewhat from those of
778 the Arapaho. The Arapaho recognize only one sacred pipe, which is pre-eminent over all others. Its worship is entirely tribal, though it is in the keeping of an individual. It occupies much the place in tribal life that the sacred pole did among the Omaha. While there are other sacred objects, such as the wheels and bundles, none of them equal the pipe in the regard in which they are held. Among the Gros Ventre there is an analogue of the Arapaho pipe, but also several others. This multiplicity distinctly differentiates the character of the Gros Ventre pipes from that of the Arapaho. The Gros Ventre pipes are not all primarily connected with the origin of the world; they are in part obtained from other tribes. They thus resemble the inter-tribal peace-pipes of the eastern and northern Plains.

[888] The sacred pipes were kept by old men. Their keepers could retain them as long as they wanted. They transferred their pipe to another keeper or owner whenever they wished, especially if some one prayed on their behalf. At present the Gros Ventre have three pipes. It is said that formerly they had more, some of which have been buried with their last owners. The most sacred of these pipes is called "flat-pipe" (çäēitsa"). This is described as being made of catlinite, with the bowl in the shape of a person (initä"). The Arapaho sacred pipe is also called "flat-pipe," and also is not flat; but it differs from the Gros Ventre pipe in being cylindrical and tubular. About the centre of the stem of this Gros Ventre flat-pipe is tied a string. A person in the tent where the pipe is kept should not tell myths. If through forgetfulness he begins to do so, it is necessary for him to continue all night.

276 A sick man sometimes pledged to smoke one of the sacred pipes for his
755 recovery. Then he provided food, and distinguished warriors were invited.
778 Each of these had to recount four coups before the pipe could be lighted. A green cherry-branch was then taken, greased, and put into the fire to light the pipe with. If it burnt well, the man would recover; if it burnt poorly, they were afraid that he would not become well, or that something would happen. Then the pipe was smoked in the greatest silence. Cloth or calico was "given" to it, the wrapping last given being the one on the out-

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side of the bundle, it is said. Except at such ceremonies as this, only the keeper could touch the pipe.

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Pipes were sometimes given to other tribes, and were sometimes received from them. Sometimes they were carried by war-parties. One of the three pipes still in existence is said to have been given by the Cheyenne to the Crow, and by the latter to the Gros Ventre, when peace was made between the two tribes. The stem is ornamented with feathers, weasel-skins, and at the end with a bunch of eagle-feathers. The sacred pipes were kept wrapped in many pieces of skin or cloth, and hung up in the tent. In good weather they were hung on a stand of three or four sticks, behind the tent. The keepers of the sacred pipes observed stringent rules. They could not eat of the head or back of any animal, nor of any part of the white-tailed deer, nor any eggs. They were not allowed to bathe, or to paint (except red), or to take the ashes out of the tent. They had to smoke in certain ways. They did not eat dogs, or allow them in the tent; nor did they let dogs touch them, or walk over their legs, or walk before them, while they were smoking. The keepers of the sacred pipes wore their hair uncut and uncombed. They could not cut it until they had given the pipe to another keeper. The hair was worn tied in a bunch just above the forehead. Fig. 42 shows such a bunch of matted hair, said to have been that of the grandfather of the father of the man who was the oldest in the tribe in 1901. This former keeper of the pipe became so old that he lost most of his hair, and the bunch shown was cut off by him before it should drop off. To this hair the later owner of the pipe, his present great-grandson, tied the first of his own teeth to fall out from old age: they are contained in a small cloth sack.

Fig. 42 (50-1902). Matted Hair. Length, 41 cm.

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The sacred flat-pipe was also used in the sun-dance. It was once captured in war. Then the man who took it had bad dreams, until the pipe spoke to him in his dream and said, "Return me, or your tribe will be destroyed." Then this man brought back the pipe, and his tribe made peace with the Gros Ventre.

The making of a sweat-house was not restricted to certain persons. A man wishing success in war would make a sweat-house for another person, in order that he might accomplish the deed he had in mind. Or, if a person was sick, one of his relatives might pledge to make a sweat-house for him, just as he would a dance. In this case the sick person himself would not necessarily use the sweat-house. On the other hand, a doctor might prescribe sweating for a patient, and in this case the sick person would enter the sweat-house.

Fig. 43 (50–4388). Sweat-house Tail. Length, 36 cm.

About twelve or fourteen willow poles were cut for the sweat-house. The entrance always faced the sunrise, and a small cottonwood-tree was erected in front of it. To this, calico or other property was tied by an old man as a gift to the sun. The cloth was partly blackened, the corners being rubbed with charcoal.

When all the participants were inside, the blankets were pulled down and the house closed tight. Water was poured on hot stones, at first five times. Thereupon the lodge was opened at the entrance and at the opposite west end, and the people cooled. It was then closed again, and this time water was poured on the rocks seven times. After cooling once more, water was poured on the rocks nine times. The fourth time, the man that poured the water could put as much or as little on the stones as he wished. After the fourth time, the participants came out and bathed. If they were suffering from pain, they whipped that part of the body with buffalo or horse tails. This practice made the heat greatest at that point, much as if it were beaten into the body.

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A man who pledges and erects a sweat-house does not participate in the sweating. He makes the fire, heats the rocks and passes them into the house, raises and lowers the blankets, and performs other services.

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In sweating, animal tails were sometimes used to beat the body with. Fig. 43 shows such an implement, made of the tail of a buffalo, on a stick handle cased in the skin of the tail. This object is similar to the Arapaho specimens described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 316), but is noticeable for the shortness of the hair on the tail.

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When people were called to come to sweat, hixteib'nix'a"t ("Above-Nix'a"t") was first called to sweat with them. Then the people were called. This personage, whose name also means "Above-white-man," is said to have been prayed to before the whites were known; but the Gros Ventre, like the Arapaho, state that they do not know whether he is identical with the Nix'a"t of their myths. Ordinary prayers were always addressed first to hixteib'nix'a"t or to iiçanânin ("our father"), then the sun and moon would be mentioned, next the sacred pipes, and then the earth. After these had been mentioned, anything else could be prayed to.

[301]

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A charm tied on horses to make them run fast consists of rabbit-feet painted red and tied together. The Arapaho used rabbits' feet for the same purpose.

Specimen Museum No. 50 1804 is a pair of wild-cat-tails worn by young men at the shoulder, or at the heel of a moccasin. They were also tied to children's belts, next to the skin, in order to keep them from wetting the bed.

[751]

Specimen Museum No. 50 1903 is a gorget (commonly called by the Indians in English "moon-shell") said to have been made in the old way from an intervertebral disk of a buffalo. At present these objects are usually slightly concave, and are made of china.

Fig. 44 (50-4280). Thunder-stone Necklace. Length, 21 cm.

[301 237]

The Gros Ventre, according to Dr. Clark Wissler, call certain corrugated fossil stones "thunder-stones."[1] The Assiniboine seem to use the same name. The Blackfeet, who perhaps have most developed the cult of these objects, call them "buffalo-stones." A specimen from the Northern Arapaho is shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural

[1] [These are probably Ammonite septa. - Analyst]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

778 History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 443, Fig. 176). Fig. 44 shows a small Gros Ventre specimen attached to a thong, for wear around the neck. The entire stone is tightly incased in a piece of skin which preserves the form so closely as to be scarcely noticeable. At the lower end of the stone is a small fringe of skin. Skin and thong are painted over red.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE DEAD.

775 Dead people go to a barren region in the north. People have been there, but the ghosts are invisible. The dead are often heard whistling, speaking, and calling about human habitations; houses and tents may be closed, but still they are heard. They speak as a living person would, and people in return ask them questions. When at war, people often ask the ghosts what luck they will have, or where the enemy are. The dead always tell the truth, and, if they say one of the party will be injured, it always happens. The ghosts are never seen, but only heard. Sometimes, if a medicine-man asks one of his spirits to bring him a dead relative, the door is heard moving, and after a time the spirit returns with the dead person, who, when he is asked questions, answers. Every one who is present can hear him plainly. Sometimes, on the arrival of the person, a noise like the whirring of wings is heard. Then there is a tapping at the top of the tent-poles. Then the tapping moves about the tent. Now it may be at the door, now at the back of the tent. When a ghost or spirit is seen, as occasionally happens, it is only for a glimpse.

If a man keeps a tooth or a bone of a dead person, after a time the spirit of that person appears to him. Some ghosts lie, but some are truthful. A man who controls a ghost, or a medicine-man who has a spirit, can see it; but it is invisible to other people. It is summoned only in the dark. People who have lost horses bring a pipe to a man that has a spirit, and pay him. Then he calls his spirit, and it tells where the horses are. If people try to ascertain by the help of a medicine-man where they have lost a small valued object, the spirit may throw it at them. Stolen property is found in the same way. A ghost or spirit is called "untrue person."

159 An old man who has been several times quoted tells the following: "I
775 once died. I think that Above-Nix'a"t pitied me, and let me live to be an old man. I was very sick with cramps and fits. The camp was moving, and the last I remember was that the tents were being pitched. Then I knew nothing about it; but the people were mourning for me and had put paint and my best clothes on me. I was travelling. I went north until I came to the Cypress Hills. There on the hills I saw two bears going into

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

773 was a clean cut through the ice, about two feet wide, the path of the monster. It had moved about in the lake until it reached the bank above which the 776 people were sleeping. The monster had struck this bank, the impression of its head and two curved horns being visible. Then it had turned and gone back to the centre of the lake, and there disappeared, making another path, on each side of which the ice was piled up. The narrator gave to it several pieces of property.

[821] It is said that it is not known whether thunders have ever been seen; but old men say that they have seen marks on the ground where one is thought to have alighted. The grass about was scorched, and two zigzag lightning-marks, each forking at the end, extended in opposite directions along the ground.

The people were once camped east of the present reservation. A terrific rainstorm came and passed over them. When they thought it had gone by, there was a fierce clap of thunder, and a man and his wife and their boy were struck by lightning. The man and boy were killed, but the woman is still alive. There were two small holes in the tent, and through the bedding into the ground there extended two small holes of the size of a small calibre bullet-hole. On another occasion, a woman was untying a curtain at the back of the tent in order to keep a bed dry, when lightning struck the tent-pole, and she was killed. The other people in the tent were merely stunned.

Not many years ago a strange thing happened to a man and a woman still living. During a thunderstorm the woman, who had been sitting at the door, went to the back of the tent and sat beside her husband. Lightning struck the tent, and shot a hole through every metal plate, cup, or dish on the ground. Where it entered the tent, it left a mark like a sword. The people then painted the tent dark-blue.

A woman out mourning for her mother on the prairie saw a small thunder-stone (bax'aa^{n}ayāa^{n}). It was creeping slowly, leaving a trail or mark. The woman thought she would leave it, and pick it up later. When she came to the place again in the evening, the stone had vanished. Its trail was still visible, but ended where she had seen it last.

821 The rainbow is called bax'aanäyna^{n}t ("thunder's fishing-line"). Näyna^{n}t seems to mean any fishing-implement.

The whirlwind is called inääçitä^{n}. This is also the name of a red legless water-worm (not a leech).

The three stars of Orion are called "buffalo-bulls." The two below them, to one side, are hunters who were going to shoot them and suddenly found themselves in the sky.

773 The Gros Ventre once lived far north of where they are now, where there ● 778 were nothing but forests. There they found a metallic object. The object
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1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

was like the flat rocks on which women pound berries, perfectly round, rough above, and perfectly smooth on the under side. Many men lifting together could not move it; but when offerings were made to it, and it was asked to rise, one man was able to lift it easily. Several people tried to sleep near it in order to dream about it, but none of them ever staid the whole night through. They would dream that it was a large metal kettle coming toward them on legs, and filled with boiling water, whereupon they jumped up and fled.

West of the present Gros Ventre Reservation there was, until the whites took it away, a stone shaped like a person, except that it lacked the face. This was once a Snake Indian. A war-party saw him sitting on a hill, and pursued him into a flat. They had nearly caught him when he turned to stone and has been there ever since. Once, as a camp went by and the people made offerings of calico and other property, a man said, "Why do you do that?" Taking a club, he knocked off the head of the figure. The man died the same summer.

A complete buffalo of stone, with hump, horns, ribs, and other parts, half of it underground, has been seen by the Gros Ventre, and many offerings and prayers have been made to it.

To the north of the Gros Ventre Reservation is a lake shaped like a buffalo, with legs and all parts complete. The tail runs out into a river, the hoofs are patches of brush, and the horns are streaks of timber of the shape of horns.

Lizards are thought to bite persons and then to hang fast to the wound, sucking the flesh into themselves. It is said that a certain man was bitten and the lizard could not be pulled off. The man's flesh had to be cut off around the lizard's mouth.

There is believed to be a kind of bear with one white fore-leg, which is fiercer than the grizzly. The jack-rabbit is called "white rabbit;" and the cottontail, "left-hand rabbit." The prairie-dog is called "large gopher" (?); and the mink, "prairie-dog weasel." The bat's bite is thought to be exceedingly poisonous.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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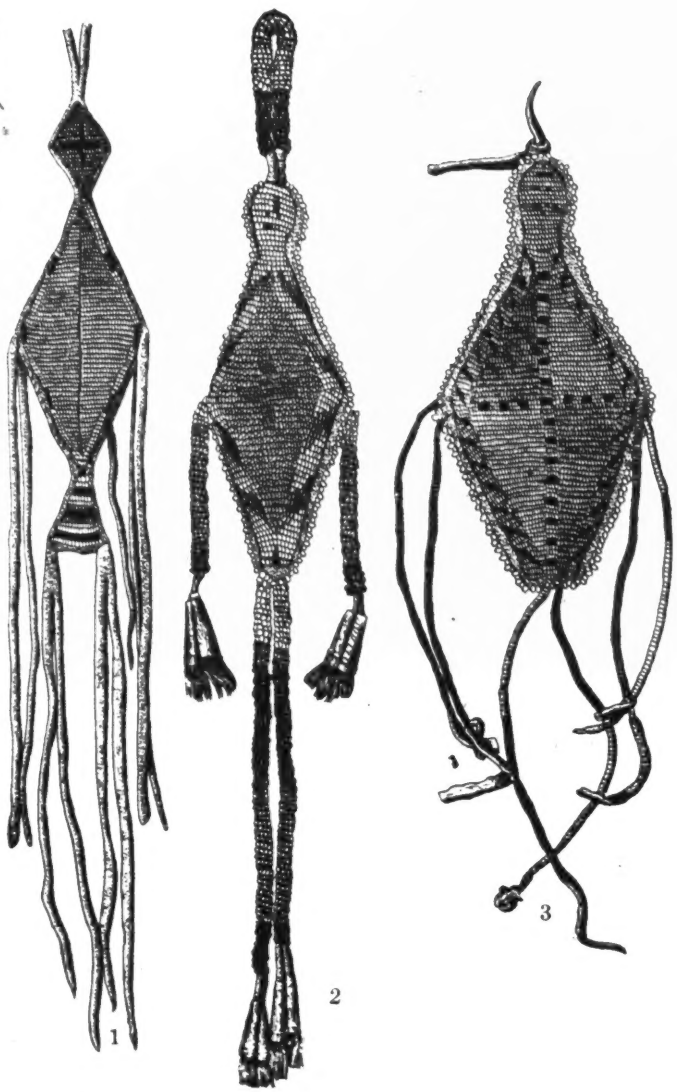

NAVEL-AMULETS.

[End plate 2]

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

occasion he stated that it was the "law" of the spring hunt that no one should hunt buffalo alone or in a small group, violation of which invoked the sanctions applied by the Wolf-men or Stars. However, in 1940, this same informant stated twice, explicitly, that there was no police power except at the Sacred Dances and on a third occasion in that year said: "After the Sacred Dance the company disbanded, and the chief resumed control, but he did not punish anybody for hunting buffalo alone."

In any case, authority was delegated to the companies only temporarily. Otherwise there was no agency beyond that of the family which could apply sanctions of force, and then, on only two counts. A husband had the right to take the life of an unfaithful wife; the family had the right of blood revenge in case of murder. In both, however, less extreme modes of behavior were approved and bloodshed could honorably be avoided.

When murder occurred, if the family of the murdered person could be persuaded to accept a payment of goods as restitution, further spilling of blood was prevented. It was said that the lodge of the band chief offered temporary refuge to a murderer and that sanctuary was likewise available in the lodge of the Keeper either of the Flat or of the Feathered Pipe. It was thought that if the murderer and his family, who collectively shared responsibility for the crime, could flee the scene, time would be gained for negotiating the blood-price. If one blood relative killed another, there was no retaliation, but the murderer was shunned.

While there was a considerable amount of fighting and quarreling among the Gros Ventres, especially under the influence of liquor, disputes were usually settled without bloodshed. Outright murder, as distinct from deaths attributed to witchcraft, was seemingly relatively infrequent. The following seven cases, arranged chronologically, illustrate actual behavior. Each of these was referred to independently by several different informants with a high level of agreement among them on details. The total represents all the murders that were known to have occurred in the period from about 1850 to 1885.

Case No. 1. These events took place about 1847. Two young men, who were related by blood, went on foot to steal horses from the enemy. One had obtained a fine horse, but the other had been

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

way? I warned you not to do anything. If you kill her we will not proceed with this Dance. It is a serious thing to interfere with a Sacred Dance, but if you persist we will all scatter." This appeal was effective and the Kitfox Dance was carried out without further mishap. 682 688

Case No. 3. On one occasion in about 1862, some men were drinking and two of them got in a tussle. The one who got the worse of the fight went to his brother and said: "Kill your wife. Her son [by another marriage] almost killed me. If you kill your wife, you can have one of mine." The husband took his brother at his word and went to his lodge and killed his wife, put her corpse on the fire, and heaped coals on top of it. The wife's two brothers, hearing of their sister's unjustified murder, went that night to where the men were still drinking. When the man who had originally instigated the murder saw the brothers coming closer and closer, he called out: "I don't want anyone to come any nearer or I might shoot him by mistake." But the brothers were not deterred and, approaching closer, shot and killed the man who had called out. Thus the one who had encouraged his brother in murder paid for the crime with his own life. Nevertheless his relatives mourned for him as they would have had he died under different circumstances, but they made no attempt to retaliate for his loss. 682

Case No. 4. The following incident occurred about 1865. Practically the whole tribe was camped together and there was a lot of drinking going on. A woman, crying, came in the lodge of her sister's husband. When they asked her the cause of her tears she told them that a certain man had beaten up her son and herself. Her sister's husband immediately took up his gun and went out into the night looking for that man. When he met up with him, without asking any questions except to be sure he had the right one, he shot him dead. When he returned to his lodge, his wife urged him to flee, but he refused to do so, saying: "I don't think his people will take up for him since he was in the wrong." Nevertheless several riders dashed by, shooting at the lodge but not doing any damage. The women were frightened and started running toward the chief's lodge. There was snow on the ground and they had a hard time locating it, but at last they got there and [778]

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

682 [D78] called out: "Our home is in trouble, we have come for protection." The chief invited them in and assured them that, while they were there, no one could harm them. But they could hear the relatives of the murdered man mourning for him. The man who had killed him continued to remain in his lodge. Evidently the male relatives of the murdered man refused to act further than merely shooting at the lodge, but finally the mother of the dead man and his father's sister, accompanied by his nephew, a boy of about ten who carried a loaded gun, came to the lodge. The women called out: "Come out here, if you are a man." They repeated this several times, but when the man failed to appear, a woman in a neighboring lodge invited them to come with her. She fed them well and eventually persuaded them to let the matter drop.

Case No. 5. These events occurred about a decade later than the preceding and details are fuller. It seems that a young man had captured a very fine horse under dangerous circumstances. He proved the horse's quality while enhancing his own prestige during subsequent encounters with the enemy. An older man, jealous of this young man who was making such a noteworthy reputation, kept pestering the young man to give his horse to him. Had the older man asked in the proper way, the younger might have acceded to his request. But the request had been made in a bullying fashion, and the older man had treated the younger as though he considered him still a child, yet the latter behaved well in simply ignoring the bully rather than answering him back.

One day, however, the older man was drunk and came up to the other, gun in hand, and said: "I am going to kill you." To which the younger man replied: "Well, be sure you do a good job of it. Be sure you don't miss me. Hit me with a bullet, because if you don't kill me, I'm going to kill you!" The older man pushed against the other's chest with his gun saying: "Well, you aren't made of rock, I can kill you," and then moving the gun near the other's head, he shot wide, intending merely to frighten him. The young man, however, did not so much as flinch, and said: "Why don't you kill me? I guess you don't want to—but be sure I'm going to kill you!" The older man said: "Oh, you are just talking!" and went into his lodge. But the young man got his gun and when his companions tried to stop him he said: "I don't want

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

among men. It was a severe ordeal and the older men had no mercy on these youngsters.

Occasionally as training in bravery, the heart of a bear was taken raw and cut into small bits. After calling together the older boys and young men and lining them up, each one in turn was given a bit of the heart dipped in fresh blood and asked: "Well, are you going to have a brave heart?" Some were able to swallow it easily, but others could not stomach it. Those who were able to swallow and retain it were said to be the really brave ones.[8]

It was indicated by many informants that in the old days a man would almost have to have had supernatural powers in order to be outstandingly successful in war or to achieve fame as a medicine man. In fact it was thought that supernatural powers could be helpful in many aspects of life including gambling and love. Guardians, however, used to warn the boys and young men under their care that "you can't get something for nothing." By this was meant that a person who accepted supernatural power would not live out his full span of life. Thus, according to The Boy, parents emphasized in training their sons that, rather than going on power quests, they should be ambitious to acquire fame and respect by developing their natural abilities. Nevertheless many sought and obtained supernatural powers, visions apparently often being vouchsafed in youth, although the power might not have been used until later in life. It was believed that those who accepted and used such supernatural powers died prematurely.[9]

Methods of Instruction

Oral instruction, or "lecturing," stands out in the Gros Ventre mind as the most important method of child training. All of our middle-aged and older informants agreed that some relative, often either the mother or the father, lectured their children almost every day, telling them what was right and what was wrong and "how to live." If boys and girls were present together, there were some subjects which could not be touched upon and would be reserved for fathers to speak about to their sons and for mothers

[8] It was said that, in the distant past, the heart of an enemy was so devoured by warriors. For historical confirmation, see Henry, v. 2, p. 734.

[9] Full discussion of supernatural powers is given in Cooper Ms., 1949.

PLATES

142 The original photograph of Plate 1 was taken in 1887 and
291 belongs to The Boy. Shown in it are Lame Bull, The Boy's
301 father, and Crow Bull, maternal uncle of Coming Daylight. Both
302 of these men were born around 1825 and their personal experiences were often referred to by our informants as we took down the record of the old way of life. Each had been Keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe.

115 The photographs composing Plate 2, except for the one of The
133 Boy, were taken in 1940 by Dr. Karl F. Herzfeld. The first three
143 show the nature of the country around Hays on the Fort Belknap
291 Reservation; the other three show some of our informants and
292 interpreters whose biographical sketches follow.

531 In Plate 3, the shield and war medicines of Bull Lodge, father
797 of our informant, Garter Snake, represent only a few of the specimens of Gros Ventre culture collected in 1937 by Mr.
778 Richard Pohrt, of Flint, Michigan.
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2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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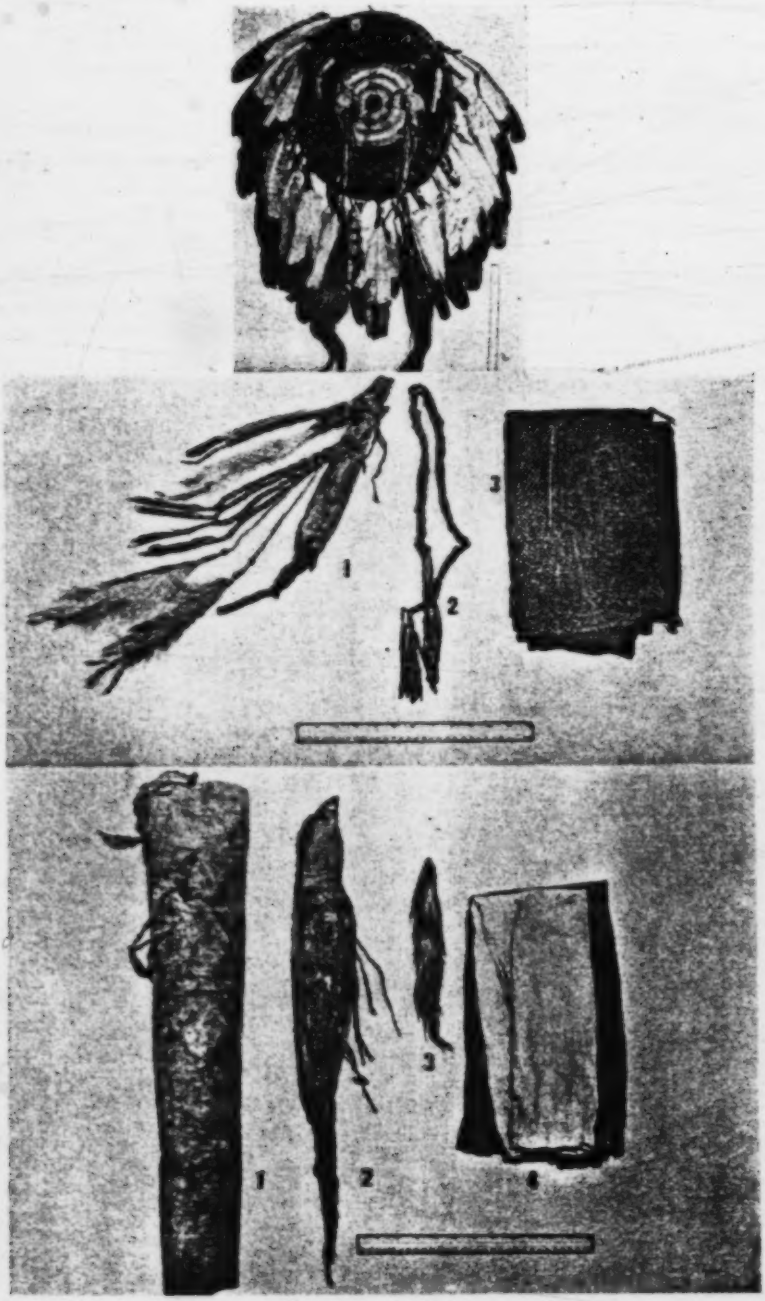

PLATE III

SHIELD AND WAR MEDICINES MADE
AND USED BY BULL LODGE

[p. 212(C)]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 second element in the word is the name of the culture hero and trickster, who in the early mythical period taught the Gros Ventres how to pray to the Supreme Being, and how to make a living. The present-day Gros Ventres can give no clue to the etymological meaning of the word ni:həhat, nor can the writer analyze it. The word is also used for spider. The spider is in a certain sense sacred and, if it is killed, rain comes. The spider, the Gros Ventres say, can in spite of its small size do wonderful things with its web, can make it stay anywhere, can climb up and down it, and, in general, is usually master of the situation. The name of the trickster Ni:həhat is ordinarily translated as "white man" by English-speaking Gros Ventres and the translation is derived from a folktale concerning an escapade of Ni:həhat in which he had his hair cut off.[3] Thus it was that when the Gros Ventres first saw the white man with his hair cut short, in contrast to the Gros Ventres' long hair, they called him by the name of the trickster. Consequently, the name for the Supreme Being Ixtcibəni:həhat is often rendered in English as "The One Above the White Man" or, in abbreviated form, "The One Above."

778 821 825

The second name for the Supreme Being is Behä:tixtč. The meaning, "the master, boss, head, leader of all" is quite clear (be:-, be:hi, "all"; änä:tixtč, "he is master, boss, head, of group or organization).[4]

The third name Ni:nänä'ätč, is said to be an older form which was still in use in the lifetime of The Boy and Thick, and it was felt that it had the meaning of "study, think, meditate," and that the whole might signify "the being who has control over everything by thought or will,"—a concept which, it may be added, would be quite in keeping with the Gros Ventre idea of the power of sheer thought or thought-wish by human beings. But this

[3] Kroeber, 1907, pp. 72-73, gives a version of this episode which is substantially the same as the one obtained by me.

782 [4] In 1948 The Boy stated that the Gros Ventres addressed the Supreme Being by this term "when they wanted something big, e.g. when they prayed for a good harvest of all the things the earth produced. Thus we are saying a kind of mass prayer indicating that the Supreme Being owns everything. He made it and he owns it, and it was recognized that they depended on him." [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 was supposed to have come on earth far up north, and to have made the rounds of all the tribes, finally reaching the Gros Ventres. 797 The Gros Ventres at first so called the priest, but when they discovered that he ate and slept like themselves, they ceased calling him by this name.

776 In the sweatlodge rite, to be described later, the first of those invited to sweat was the Supreme Being.[1] In how far such an invitation was anthropomorphically conceived is hard to say; it need not, of course, necessarily have implied anything beyond symbolic deference.

The Boy and Thick stated: "He is not a 'false person.' He is entirely in a class by himself. We think so much of him that we do not dare to try to learn what he looks like. We class him as a kind of shadow. He is the most wonderful and powerful of all beings who have no bodies."

[778] No statues or images or pictographs of any kind were ever made of the Supreme Being, nor were there any symbolic representations of him.

[782] The Supreme Being was alone and one, and, as compared with other sacred or superhuman beings of religion, myth, and folklore, he ranked first. Where prayers included invocation of more beings than one, the Supreme Being's name always came first; in ritual invitations before sweating or partaking of food, he was always invited first. He was, however, much more than *primus inter pares*. He was in a class by himself as not only the most powerful but as the ultimate source of the power possessed by other beings and as the ultimate ruler and controller of these others. Bha'a, [821] the Storm Being, who ranked next in importance to the Supreme Being, was controller of storms, thunder and lightning, and exercised a certain limited autonomy. He had this power and office, however, not of himself, but by delegation from the Supreme Being, and exercised it as the agent of the Supreme Being, as will be explained more fully later. Then, too, while the Gros Ventres through fasting and crying on the hills or prairie sought supernatural power, not directly from the Supreme Being, but from other beings—animals and others—it was the Supreme Being who

[1] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 275.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 bätč, "he (who) has gristle (tendon from back of neck of animal) nose," and "black hawk," a certain very large black-feathered hawk known also locally as "bullet hawk" (*Buteo sp.?*). Another name for Bha'a was "old man four parts of the earth." Bha'a, the thunderbird, as was appropriate, had dark or black feathers, and was a swift flier; his bill and feet were of the same material as back tendon (see Blood-Clot Story, No. 11 in Appendix).

778 776 796 In the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Lodge, or "Sun dance," Bha'a was represented near the top of the center pole as a bird, painted black, with a buffalo tail fastened to his head as a sort of plume, with a zigzag line descending from the bird almost to the ground and ending in a fork, and with a bunch of branches stuck in the fork of the center pole of the lodge to represent Bha'a's nest. Each [302] of the dancers painted all over in white had a bird representing Bha'a, painted in black with charcoal or paint on his upper center breast, with black zigzag lines ending in a fork from the bird's wings down each arm and forearm and from the bird's feet down each thigh and leg to his ankle, with a black zigzag line forked at each end across the forehead, and with a vertical red zigzag line forked at the lower end extending down from each eye. The [534] drum-head used in the Feathered Pipe rite had a red background on which the Thunderbird was represented in blue, with a yellow zigzag line on either side from the head to the wings. Bha'a entered prominently into both the Sacrifice Lodge and the Feathered Pipe rite.

776 825 Any large strange animal might in the olden days be called Bha'a or even be looked upon as an embodiment or theophany of Bha'a.

One supposed theophany over which the present day Gros Ventres laugh heartily, is recorded on the occasion of their seeing their first mule. The story as told with verve and intense amusement by The Boy was as follows:

"The Gros Ventres used to move around a great deal. Once a mule, the first one the Gros Ventres had ever seen, got lost somehow, struck the Gros Ventres' trail, came to their camp and stopped. A Gros Ventre crier spied it and came back to camp

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

power from the "ghost men" by sleeping near their pictographs, but never with any success. One young man, however, once without quest got power in childbirth cases from a boss of little children who appear to him in a dream, and Singer thought these "little children" were "ghost men," but the identification is doubtful. The only message they ever got from the "ghost men" was a request or demand that the Gros Ventres go away at once as they smelt bad or made the place smell bad. On war parties or other occasions, offerings were made at the pictograph cliff to the "ghost men," who would then during the night make new pictographs on the morrow from which the future in the form of good or bad fortune could be easily foreseen by the members of the party.[20]

Supernatural power was gotten either by quest or otherwise from ghosts or, as more commonly, from non-human beings, such as mountains (or the spirit who inhabited or owned the mountains), rocks, mammals (bear, wolf, weasel, mink, coyote, rat, prairie dog and others), birds (crow, prairie chicken), snakes, spiders and so forth. "These lesser beings, while ranking a little above human beings and possessing certain superhuman powers, were under the leadership and control of the Supreme Being, from whom they had received such powers to be imparted in turn to human beings. Like Bha'a, they were, so to speak, delegated agents and underlings of the Supreme Being, put by him in charge of "the details of the whole situation," as The Boy expressed it. The powers so imparted were of many kinds, to cure, to poison or otherwise harm, to foretell, to become a great warrior, to acquire wealth, to succeed in love and gambling, et cetera, as will be described in detail later.

Non-Cult Beings

So much for the beings to whom cult was rendered in the form of prayer or sacrifice. We shall now describe the supernatural beings,—human, "humanoid" and non-human,—to whom no cult was rendered but who entered in one form or other into ritual

[20] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 93.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

All of them, bunched close together, ran away, and they could hear the ghost laughing. They shot at it but it laughed all the more. When they got a good distance from their camping spot, they could still hear the ghost laughing behind them, and it only quit bothering them when they got far away. Whenever a war party came close to this spot, it would be bothered by that ghost, whose name was 'Hole-through-his-penis.' So the Gros Ventres quit camping there."

The second illustration was given as follows: "On one occasion, during the lifetime of Lame Bull (The Boy's father), a number of Gros Ventres went off on a war party and camped at an old abandoned winter camp on the Missouri River. They made a shelter frame of old tent and travois poles. One of the men went out some distance, gathered wood and lit a fire and started to cook meat. The night was very dark. Something started throwing sticks at him every now and then. He thought to himself: 'My friends are trying to test my courage,' and paid no attention. The sticks began coming too frequently. He said to them: 'You better quit throwing at me. You might hurt me. You can't scare me.' They said: 'We're not throwing at you.' The sticks came faster. So he ran back to the shelter where the others were, rushed in and hid behind the leader of the war party. They all got scared then and piled up in a struggling heap close to the leader until he was pinned under them. 'Let me up,' he said, 'I'll see what is scaring you and deal with that thing.' The ghost poked in a cross piece of a travois and scattered their fire. While still piled up in a heap they heard a voice laughing outside and seeming to go away. They at last got straightened out and fixed up the fire, but still could hear the ghost laughing. One of the men, Chief Grass, said: 'I'm going to kill that ghost.' He then rolled some buffalo hair around the head of an arrow, singed it a little and spat on it,—his way, it was believed, of using his power. He then shot the arrow in the direction where the laughing could still be heard. The voice was at once silenced, and they were not bothered any more that night. 'I believe I killed that ghost.' Chief Grass said, 'at daylight, I'll look around.' The next morning they looked around and found a bleached human skull with the arrow of

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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CHAPTER II

THE FLAT PIPE

KEEPERSHIP

The Flat Pipe was ordinarily in the custody of an official keeper called nätcä:ta' (nätcä, chief) with his head wife as co-keeper, nä:tciθä (chief woman) and one of their young children as pipe child, nätcəta:niθə'. 793 [578]

In olden times before the coming of the whites according to the tradition as handed down to The Boy and Thick, the Flat Pipe was hereditary in one of the families or bands—which one is unknown. The man and wife chosen, from within the family or band, to be keeper and co-keeper were usually a couple in the prime of life, not an old man married to a young woman or an old woman married to a very young man. A couple in the prime of life were chosen so that, even though they already had children, they could still have more. For it was the tribal law that they should designate out of their children, a boy or girl, born after they had entered upon their keepership to remain with them and to succeed to the keepership should both the keeper and his wife die by accident or sickness. Nearly always they designated a boy, rarely a girl, as the keeper had ordinarily to be a man. The Boy and Thick thought that this system of hereditary keepership came to an end long ago as a result perhaps of the fact that a keeper might have had no children or children died off, or the complete dying out of the family or band in which the Pipe was then hereditary. 793 428

In historic times, that is, as far back as definite tribal memory goes, non-hereditary succession has prevailed. It took two forms, elective and volunteer. In the first case, the initiative was taken by others than the prospective keeper; in the second, by the prospective keeper himself. To become an official keeper a man had to be formally inaugurated with a rite which will be described later. In certain emergencies the Pipe was temporarily without 793

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on a given night after everybody was asleep lest the matter became known and the prospective electee take flight. When a rumor would spread that a new election was imminent, those who thought they might be elected used commonly to go away and sleep elsewhere than in their own lodges, as almost all were reluctant to become keepers. Those invited to the election meeting had to keep absolute secrecy beforehand, and at the meeting itself no one else than the keeper and co-keeper and the above invitees was present except two attendants, sons of keepers or ex-keepers.

The actual keeper might open the discussion by proposing a name. Discussion was free but dignified. Agreement would be finally reached, perhaps well after midnight or towards morning, on the keeper's first choice or on some other man. Knowing how onerous the keepership was, the keeper out of the regard for the ex-keepers would not be apt to nominate one of their sons, and ordinarily did not nominate one of his own.

The proposed keeper had to be a prominent member of the tribe, a man of great ability and renown, with a record of recognized achievement and with very considerable wealth in horses, in the size and furnishings of his lodge, and so forth. He had to be of the cream of the tribe, or "the best among many." And he had "to be good" as the Gros Ventre ethical code conceived goodness. He had to be generous; a stingy man, even though a great warrior, and even though he had vowed to become keeper, would never get the Pipe, for the keeper had to feed people and to be good to them and have pity on them. A murderer of a fellow tribesman could not become keeper, nor could a "professional" gambler, that is, one who is known to have supernatural gambling power. In general one guilty of grave crime such as rape or theft from fellow tribesman, or of habitual marked moral delinquency or defect, such as lying, backbiting, felony, disbelief in or disrespect for holy things, was barred from the keepership as he was barred from rising high in the prestige scale.

After the choice was finally decided upon, the whole party with others of their kin proceeded secretively before or toward daybreak to the lodge of the electee to seize him bodily by surprise before he could escape. Once seized or even only elected he had practically

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although without the wild parsley, but we did not obtain details.

After ritual treatment of their wearing apparel, the new keeper and co-keeper had to take off any ring, necklace or other personal adornment made of copper, iron or other metal, as the wearing of metal adornments was forbidden them, apparently because such were from the whites. The two, but not the Pipe child, were each ritually invested with a necklace consisting of a large single shell on a string of twisted, not plaited, buckskin. The investure was done with three motions as if putting the necklace on, and at the third it was actually put on. Further the keeper, but not the co-keeper, had to frame his hair over his forehead with a large pompadour, as a sign of distinction.[1]

The new co-keeper also put some dried peppermint leaves mixed with poisonous wild parsley in a little buckskin sack which she then wore on her belt. This had a double purpose. First, the mixture being poisonous, she commanded respect. She must not be molested or even be bodily touched. Whoever molested or even touched her would suffer fits or spasms or a paralytic stroke. Second, she must live a virtuous life and not run around with other men. The co-keeper and keeper, as also the ex-co-keepers and ex-keepers, since they had all been consecrated with peppermint and fumigation could handle the wild parsley without danger, but the common people were not immune to its supposedly highly toxic effects.

On this second day a big feast was given. Most of the food was provided by the new keeper and his relatives. That eaten by the new keeper and co-keeper, who had been fasting from food and water since the time they were first siezed a good thirty or more hours previously, was provided by the ex-keepers.

At sundown the day's instruction ended. That night the new keeper and co-keeper, the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and two attendants slept in the double lodge, where the Pipe also remained.

Very early the next morning (or less probably late on the

[1] In 1948 The Boy added: "When a man became keeper, he ceased to comb his hair and it would get in all kinds of shapes and hang down. So he would take a bunch from the center and wind it round and round and tied that knot of hair around with a string. Whenever the keeper took off that string the people would be afraid!" [R.F.]

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The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer. But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing toward the rising sun. 342 346 [361]

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary." 342 346 353 778

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it cannot right itself. 342 346 513 [784] [825]

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The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up, stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and fastened from the inside.

The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of ritual and other observances.

No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside the beds or under the pillows or anywhere in the "sanctuary," but near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

When anything was going on therein, with men and women both present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under the other.

No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp

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fund of war exploits would be apt to give out, and the two would begin talking about trifling occurrences in camp, personal reminiscences about their marriages, and so forth. Everybody had a good time at such a three-day session.

Neither the keeper nor others were permitted to tell folk-tales of the vulgar or obscene Ni:hahat type in the former's lodge. If a member of a visiting group inadvertently broke the rule, a three-day session similar to the war-deed one above was prescribed, during which he had to continue telling such tales.

If a murder of a fellow-tribesman had been committed in camp, and the murdered person's relatives were about to kill the murderer in revenge, the latter could run to and take refuge in the keeper's lodge and was safe so long, but only so long, as he stayed there. The avengers dared not enter it to kill, but immunity ceased so soon as the murderer left the lodge.

There is general agreement among our informants that the keeper's lodge was pitched in a prominent place, but exactly where in the camp circle is a controverted point we did not succeed in clearing up. According to one tradition, it occupied the place of honor in the circle, toward the northwest—opposite the circle's opening which was toward the southeast or the rising sun,—regardless of where the keeper's band camped in the circle. Three, however, of our oldest informants, Coming Daylight, Takes-the-Bow, and Turn-Toes, held that the keeper remained with his band, the first two of the three stating that his lodge was pitched a little in front of his band toward the center of the circle.

Prerogatives and Restrictions of Keepership

The office of keepership carried with it on the one hand a great many special rights, privileges, prerogatives and powers and on the other a great many restrictions, obligations, responsibilities and sacrifices. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, as new ones were still being revealed when our field work came to an end,[3] but it probably includes most of them. They functionally accord with sacred and high dignity of the keepership, the supernatural power attached to it, the lofty ethical behavior and "as-

[3] Kroeber, 1908, p. 273, has some we did not get.

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ceticism" expected of the keeper, his status as one set apart from his fellows, and his political and civil role in the Gros Ventre theocracy. We shall classify and treat them in this order, although some of them do not fit too neatly into any one of the five or six categories, and some straddle two or more of them. Incidentally, in many cases these refer to the co-keeper as well, although our field notes mention only the keeper.

The keeper and co-keeper of the Flat Pipe held a very sacred office of great eminence, and their persons and everything on or about them were considered holy. They themselves were expected always to behave in a dignified manner becoming their exalted and sacred position, and others were obliged to show them due respect.

The keeper and co-keeper were not permitted "to do foolish things like other people." They could not, for instance, take part in gossip or other petty meanness. They were obligated as well to many ethical, "ascetic" and rittal observances to be described presently.

Marked respect was due them from their fellow-tribesmen. As The Boy put it, the Gros Ventres, now all Catholics, "had just the same great respect for the keeper and his wife as they now have for the priests and nuns."

People had to keep their distance from the keeper and co-keeper, and could not sit close to them, or touch, grab or wrestle with them. Apparently, however, they could shake hands with them. If the keeper asked anyone to hand him something, the object had to be passed by hand, not thrown to him; if it were thrown toward the keeper on the ground and he had to pick it up, some accident would befall either the keeper or the thrower.

If anyone stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the sitting keeper or co-keeper, the guilty party would at once fall in a fit, or get cramps and could be cured only by the offended keeper or co-keeper. Likewise, if the keeper, intentionally or unintentionally, stepped over the outstretched legs of a sitting person, the person would get fits or cramps and could be cured only by the keeper.

If the keeper or an ex-keeper had the Flat Pipe or even a com-

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793 mon pipe in his hands, it was forbidden for anyone to pass in front
784 of him, under penalty of some evil befalling the culprit.

If a person, wanting something in a hurry from the keeper, such as meat or a bit of tobacco, just poked his (or her) head in the door of the keeper's lodge and made his request, no one inside would answer him. He would have to go all the way in, proceeding clockwise, make his request, and go out clockwise, not back out.

When the co-keeper gave a visitor something to eat in the Pipe lodge, the receiver had to eat it there and not take it out, unless someone told war stories. No one was allowed to take or grab anything seen in the Pipe lodge.

● 778 The keeper and co-keeper were by virtue of their office "holy"
782 persons, that is, endowed with supernatural powers. Some of these powers were related directly to their main task as custodians of the Pipe, leaders in its ritual, and intercessors with the supernatural world, and will be described under the ritual of the Pipe. Others were conferred on them at or subsequent to the transfer rite, partly to enable them to command the respect due them, partly to give them supernatural efficiency for their own or their people's advantage,—the former being mostly powers to harm, the latter mostly powers to help.

793 If anyone were guilty of disrespect to the keeper or co-keeper,
754 there were several avenging procedures to which they could resort.

During the transfer rite, the keeper and co-keeper were taught some form of cursing, so they would be properly respected. If they wished evil on anyone, the evil would come to pass. Deer, an ex-keeper who gave Lame Bull much of the latter's coaching for the keepership, told him after his mouth had been consecrated: "Be careful what you say. For if you utter an evil wish on anybody, the wish will come true." This power, it may be added, is more or less of a piece with the commonly possessed efficacy attributed in Gros Ventre idealogy to serious good or evil wish-thought. (See pp. 364-370.)

Deer also taught Lame Bull in his early keepership another harming power, but cautioned him not to use it unless someone failed to show proper respect to him as keeper. This power worked by "sympathetic" magic. Deer asked for a little pup and a piece of sinew. When these were brought he said: "Leave the pup near

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previously mentioned, afford asylum in his lodge to criminals. All in all, he wielded very considerable influence in the political life of his people, but he was in no sense a dictator. 793 624

While a good many of the prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keeper and co-keeper ceased when their term of office ended, others automatically continued, beyond the period of keepership or, as regards restrictions, could be and often were voluntarily continued by the ex-keepers. Most of such cessations and continuances on which we obtained specific information have been explicitly or inexplicitly noted in the preceding pages.

Flat Pipe and Bundle: Description

The proper name of the Flat Pipe was θe:tsa. It was also called bä'ɔno (turtle), the turtle having played such an important role in the first making of dry land after the flood (for story see No. 3 in Appendix), and a turtle shell ranking next in dignity to the Flat Pipe itself in the Flat Pipe bundle. Bä'ɔno was used in an appealing, pleading or begging way. 778● 276

The Flat Pipe bundle containing the Flat Pipe and other sacred objects could not be unwrapped and opened except on solemn ceremonial occasions and with the appropriate elaborate rites. The last such occasion was on February 6, 1946, when it was impossible for us to be present and when photographs taken turned out badly. Our description, therefore, of the Pipe and of the other contents of the bundle has to rest on detailed accounts given us by our various informants who had witnessed one or more openings, upon sketches of the Pipe drawn by The Boy in 1939, by Thomas Main in 1938 or 1939 (after an opening in 1938) and by a young high school student, Frank Cuts The Rope in 1946 (after the above 1946 opening), and upon dimensions given by Thomas Main (See fig. 1).

The Flat Pipe itself is of wood, in a perfect state of preservation, carved in one piece, light brown or almost tan in color, very smooth as if polished from long and frequent wrapping, and about 18½ inches long. The bowl is round, low or squat, and flaring, 3⅛ inches in diameter on top with the hole for the tobacco about ½ inch in diameter, 2½ inches in diameter at its

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778 276 base, and 2⅓ inches in depth from top to bottom. The stem is roundish in section, about 1½ inches in diameter at the distal end, tapering slightly to about 1⅛ toward the proximal. The stem is "humped a bit toward the middle," with a ring carved all round to which is attached a small tasseled string ornament believed to represent the hair rope with which He-who-starved-to-death snared the Red Bird. (For story see No. 5 in Appendix.) The [283] Gros Ventre women used to make an adornment from "a growth looking like hair" which they gathered from the water and twisted into a strong thread, and The Boy thinks that this tasseled ornament on the Pipe is of the same material.

There is another ring carved around and the proximal end of the Pipe is carved in the shape of a "duck" head. Into the "duck's" bill is fitted a small stem,—about 1⅛ inches long and ¼ inch in diameter, projecting about ½ inch beyond the tip of the bill, encased in copper,—from which the Pipe was smoked.[6]

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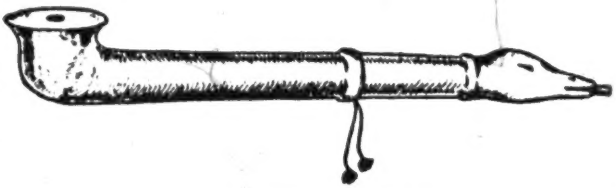

FIGURE 1. THE FLAT PIPE.

The whole Pipe is enclosed in its own numerous wrappings which form a separate case with its own three thong ties within the larger Pipe bundle. No one, it may be added, seems to know how the Flat Pipe got its name; there is nothing markedly "flat" about it, except the somewhat squat bowl.

778 The whole Pipe bundle contains many other sacred objects

[6] Kroeber, 1908, p. 272, gives a description of the Flat Pipe as being made of catlinite with the bowl in the shape of a person. Actually this sounds more like one of the objects in the Feathered Pipe bundle,—the so-called Image or Human Face. See p. 142. Kroeber's mention of a string around the center of the stem of the Flat Pipe, however, matches the description given us. [R.F.]

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besides the Pipe itself. The most important of these is a turtle shell, next in rank a "duck" pelt, and third a muskrat skin.* These represent the animals sent down by Earthmaker at the time of the great flood to dive for earth. The turtle and "duck" are more important than the muskrat as they were the only two who brought back earth. There is no beaver skin in the bundle; either it was barred or discarded, or, as The Boy put it, "the beaver must have gotten mad and started his own pipe and pipe rite." (Cf. under "Other Pipes," pp. 166-168.)

The turtle shell is kept enclosed in its own special case. Neither The Boy nor his father Lame Bull had ever seen this shell, which is said not to have been taken from its case and exposed since the early nineteenth century.

The "duck" is apparently, from the detailed description given us of plumage and habits, a grebe. This bird has a special sacredness in Gross Ventre thought on account of its part not only in the primeval making of dry land but also in present-day bird migration.

According to tradition, when the birds, who in the fall have gone where there is no winter, want in the spring to come back they talk the matter over and plan the flight to the north. On the migration flight the grebes, who are poor flyers, are carried on the backs of the larger birds such as the ducks, geese and cranes. The big bird is careful not to drop the little bird; if he does, he will have bad luck. If the small bird is killed by the fall, the big bird does not live long. When in migration one of the big birds breaks rank and flies around alone, the Gros Ventres know that he has lost his passenger, and it is up to him alone to find the dropped bird. Sometimes you can see a big bird hovering round the spot where he has dropped his small passenger, looking for him in order to pick him up again, and catch up with the

* In 1948 The Boy explained: "The muskrat and the beaver tried to bring back earth but failed. Beaver was banished from any connection with the Pipe. The keeper would not let anyone who used the beaver-castor perfume come near him or his lodge. But muskrat was taken back without ceremonial significance for no other purpose than to wipe the keeper's face, as well as faces of others, before the keeper painted them. So muskrat is still in the bundle and shares indirectly in the great Pipe ceremonies." [R.F.]

3; Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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825 migrating flock. When you hear the cries of the migrating geese, if you listen closely you can hear also the calls of the little birds. The big birds are very willing to carry the little ones, as the former get "holy things" and "are taught holy [powerful] ways" by the latter in payment for the ride, for the grebe is known to be a "big shot" who has extraordinary powers. The grebe in the Flat Pipe bundle is one of these little birds that are carried by the large ones on the fall and spring migration flight. In the bundle too are some feathers of the big birds. "Probably because they treat the grebe to a free ride, they bought their way into the bundle and so have a place of honor."

In the bundle, besides the turtle shell and grebe skin, are the dried pelts (not stuffed) of many other kinds of birds,—some of which The Boy cannot identify. These represent the birds who sang with joy at the first making of dry land after the flood. These bird pelts lie loose, not enclosed in a bag. In the olden times, Lame Bull told The Boy, the tobacco raised by the Pipe keeper was stored in these pelts for safe-keeping.

When the bundle is being wrapped, the Pipe enclosed and tied in its own case, is laid on these bird pelts as on a bed, with the turtle shell to the left of the Pipe "as you face the stem," and the grebe skin to the right. Turtle shell, grebe skin and bird pelts are all placed with the head toward the stem end of the Pipe, and are wrapped together with the Pipe in a special covering within the larger Pipe bundle proper.

The large bundle also contains a good-sized bag, rectangular and closed on three sides, in which are kept all or most of them in their own particular small cases or coverings, the following ritual articles: a muskrat skin representing the muskrat that dived unsuccessfully for earth at the flood, and used in the face-painting rite; paint and a painting stamp; supplies of peppermint and tobacco; rattles; the ritual moccasins of the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child; a thunderstone;[1] the "official" shell necklace of the

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[1] In the bundle there was a thunderstone encased in its own small bundle or sack. If, for instance, a person were suffering from stomach-ache, the co-keeper would reach into the Pipe bundle, without unwrapping it, take out the thunderstone, smudge it, make motions with or bite it, spit on the

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keeper and co-keeper; a rope made of hair from the head and legs of buffalo, either the actual snare with which He-Who-Starved-To-Death captured the evil Red Bird or a substitute therefor.

This rectangular bag with its contents has its own prescribed place in the whole Pipe bundle, namely, to the right of the case containing the Pipe, turtle, grebe and bird skins as you look from the stem and toward the bowl end.

Finally, in the large Pipe bundle, are or were two sticks of about the length of the bundle, covered with two pieces of cloth. These are about the last outermost things set in place when the whole bundle is wrapped. The ends of the cloths in which the sticks are tied project out of the bundle as a decoration. They could be extracted from the bundle and taken along on war expeditions as a substitute for it and the Pipe, and used in a simplified ritual in place of the Pipe. The Pipe bundle itself was not taken on a war raid, as the co-keeper was the only one who was allowed to carry it, as it was rather heavy and bulky, and as there was danger it might be captured by the enemy.

All the articles that have been listed are finally enclosed in the outermost cover of the whole Pipe bundle. This cover is nearly round when laid flat made of a whole elk skin with the legs cut off. The bundle is more or less cylindrical, cigar or blimp-shaped, about 1½ feet in diameter at the center and about 3 feet long. The bundle is secured with three ties of thong, one in the middle and one at either end, and has a thong handle on it, like the handle of a traveling bag. (See Plate 2A.)

Over the whole bundle was laid a robe of albino or "beaver" buffalo skin. When the bundle was to be untied this robe was spread out and the bundle was laid on it. The albino-buffalo tail, used by the keeper in the sweat-lodge rite, was kept outside, not inside, the bundle, so it could be easily gotten.

In modern times, from about 1870 to 1932, a human scalp was

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person's stomach, and so forth, with a very simple ritual. A retiring keeper had the right to select something out of the Pipe bundle and keep it. Lame Bull, on retiring, selected a thunderstone of animal-like shape. Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 275-76.

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778 attached to the outside of the Flat Pipe bundle. In the late 1860's the Gros Ventres were at war with the Piegan and Blood Indians. During the war, a party of Gros Ventres were massacred on Judith River, including the husband of Lame Bull's sister, and her small son was badly wounded. Lame Bull, then keeper of the Flat Pipe, said: "I'll make the Piegan pay for what they have done to my nephew." So shortly after this, he got together a party of warriors and, taking with him the above-mentioned double-stick substitute for the Flat Pipe, led them to the Piegan country, to the other side of the Cypress Hills on or near Belly River. It was on this expedition that Lame Bull had the three sweat lodges made (to be described later) and used his snaring or summoning power as keeper to call the five enemy victims promised him in a dream. One of the young Gros Ventre warriors, Fur Moccasin, said to the substitute for the Flat Pipe: "Little Turtle, in this fight I want to do something great. If you will see to it that I count coup by getting a scalp I will turn it over to you." This was equivalent to a vow, for he would have to risk his life to get a scalp. Another young warrior said: "Flat Pipe, in this fight I want to do something great. If I get a horse I will turn it over to you."

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After the summoning rite, Lame Bull detailed two young warriors to go out as scouts the next morning, before daybreak so they would not be observed on the way by the enemy, to a certain butte, and to watch and wait. Shortly after daybreak the two scouts saw five of the enemy who were out hunting buffalo, and returned to give their report. Near the Gros Ventre camp, to the west, was a small herd of buffalo. So Lame Bull said: "The Piegan will spy the buffalo and make for them. We will wait till they make their kill and are dressing the meat." The Piegan went past the Gros Ventre without observing them and killed the buffalo. The Gros Ventres then sneaked up toward the Piegan as close as the level open country would permit, without their being seen. Lame Bull said: "Don't yell. Take after them as though you are racing." As the Gros Ventres came rushing on they came up first to one of the Piegan who had tied his horse to the leg of a killed buffalo and who, in the excitement forgetting this, jumped on his

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horse and started off but at the end of the rope was stopped and thrown. Fur Moccasin killed and scalped him then and there. Then the Gros Ventres took after the other four Piegan. The second Piegan was killed and his horse captured by the young warrior who had promised a horse to the Flat Pipe. The other three Piegan were also killed. The Gros Ventre suffered no casualties in the fight.

When the battle was over, Fur Moccasin turned over the Piegan scalp to Lame Bull: "Here's the scalp which I promised for the Flat Pipe." The other young warrior who had promised the horse likewise turned it over: "Here's the horse which I promised for the Flat Pipe."

Some time after this fight, peace was made between the Gros Ventres and the Piegan, and the Gros Ventres learned the Piegan side of the incident. The Piegan (or Blood) had planned to hold a Sun Dance. So they selected four men to go out and kill a bull buffalo for the dance. One old man of his own volition went along in order to get some of the internal organs for himself. After the five had set out, the Piegan waited in vain all the next day till nightfall for them to return and finally concluded that they must have met with misfortune. The next morning the Piegan set out in the direction in which the five had gone and, judging by the actions of carrion crows and buzzards, discovered the five corpses. The Gros Ventres by this time were a long way off. The Sun Dance was given up. The four younger Piegan killed were noted men.

The Piegan scalp was tied to the outside of the Flat Pipe bundle. The donor, Fur Moccasin, by giving the scalp, became an enemy-friend of the Flat Pipe, which role gave him the right to go pretty far in taunting and saying things about it, as was the wont between enemy-friends.[8] But only he, and no one else could take such liberties.

The scalp remained attached to the outside of the bundle. The Boy, who knew this, always felt that this was not right, because the bundle had great religious significance whereas the scalp was something of an entirely different order and did not belong with

[8] For details on enemy-friends, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 102-06.

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the bundle. He wanted to take the scalp off and throw it away. But Lame Bull held that it should stay where it was, for since it was given by Fur Moccasin to the Flat Pipe in fulfillment of a vow and since Fur Moccasin and the Flat Pipe were enemy-friends, its presence involved no real lack of respect to the Pipe.

When, however, in later years the Flat Pipe came into unofficial possession of The Boy, his prejudice against it had not abated. Since he had authority in the matter, he gave the scalp in about 1932 to John Galen Carter who, The Boy was told, finally turned it over to Columbia University or to the American Museum of Natural History. The Boy laughingly remarked that if he had foreseen that he would be giving us the whole record of Gros Ventre history and culture he would have saved the scalp and given it to Cooper and so Cooper would have become the enemy-friend of Fur Moccasin!

The Flat Pipe always, as in the above case, had its own horse on which it was packed and which was not used for any other purpose or ridden by the keeper or anyone else, except, it appears, once in a while by the co-keeper who would take the bundle on her back and ride the horse. The Flat Pipe's horse was painted red on its forehead and down to the end of its mane, and also on the top of its rump at the base of the tail, as were also all things used to transport the Pipe,—its special saddle, blanket, outfit, tripod and so forth.[*]

[*] In 1948 The Boy added that the keeper could use in addition to red paint another kind "of a dirty slate color and no one else in the tribe used it." [R.F.]

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G 533 singers: Tom Bad Road, Charlie Arms, Mrs. Katie Matt Croft, and Mrs. Albert Perry. Apropos of the last two, it may be added that women frequently sang and sing with the men, and the latter "like it when the women join in because this makes the singing colorful and nice."[2]

G 386 The Gros Ventres used many kinds of paint; some of Indian, some of white man origin; some in secular, some only in ritual uses. Powdered paints of different colors were gotten from traders and were used to paint parfleches and, by the men, alone, never G 439] by the women, to paint their bodies. A yellow paint was also gotten from the Cheyenne or from Cheyenne territory. On one occasion Coming Daylight brought a lot of this yellow paint which she had gathered there and gave enough of it to a Gros Ventre man to paint his big lodge with it. These paints were not sacred. A black paint, obtained from the Standing Rock region, was used in making fine lines on parfleches. Only the old women who made and painted the parfleches were the ones that gathered it, but it was not so sacred as the red paint used in face painting.

G 788 386 This sacred red face paint was in a class by itself, and was used in the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites, by the "grandfathers" in ● [798] painting the wives during the Sacred Lodge rites, and apparently by the women in everyday painting of their own and the children's faces.[4] This special red paint was called, as also the yellow clay

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[2] About 1900 The Boy went along with the Gros Ventres on a 4th of July visit to the Piegan at Browning. All four groups, the Piegan, Blood, Blackfeet proper, and northern Piegan, were gathered there. In all the four there B [527 533] was only one man, a famous singer, who knew all the ceremonial dance songs, although some of the other Indians knew some of them, and he was imported by the Browning Piegan for the reason. The Boy heard him sing. The man did not have a nice clear voice, but he lived up to his reputation, for he knew the songs and their order for all the many rites and was kept busy all the time. And he cashed in handsomely with horses, blankets and money. He was able to make a living from his singing. The Boy learned some of the songs this man sang, and he sang one of them for us, that had the words: "You who are the ruler of all sacred (powerful) things having to do with all life, give me all of that so that I may use it all my life." The Blackfeet, The Boy added, think more of the Sun than do the Gros Ventres: it is their deity.

[4] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 144-45.

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that time. In the olden days it was only the keeper of the Flat Pipe who planted and harvested it; and for ritual use only.[4] As time went on, the keeper thought to himself: "These older men should have something to pray with when the tribe breaks camp and each band goes its own way." So he said to these older men, each a chief in his own band: "When your bands go their own way you have nothing to use in your prayers. So I am going to distribute some tobacco to each of you for you and your band to use." This he did, and so the use of tobacco began to spread. After this some bands broke away entirely from the Gros Ventres, the original planters and users of tobacco, and became separate tribes and the language changed. The probable order, The Boy thinks, in which they broke away was: first, the Gros Ventres of Dakota,[5] next the Cree, then the Piegan, after this the Crow, and last the Arapaho. He thinks too that the keeper who first distributed tobacco to the bands must have distributed the seed too, for in later years all these people raised their own tobacco.

In the course of time the use of tobacco among the Gros Ventres underwent two important developments, from ritual to recreative and from male to female use.

In earliest days only the keeper and a few old men used tobacco, and used it only ritually. When somebody got sick, the keeper

[4] In 1948 The Boy elaborated on the original planting of tobacco which he had heard Lame Bull discuss many times. "It was virgin soil deep in the forest and they made a woven fence around it so nothing could get in. After the planting, they moved off for hunting and every once in a while the keeper made a ceremonial smoke and prayed to the Supreme Being that the tobacco would grow. After the vegetation began to mature they returned to the plot and the keeper went to look and thanked the Supreme Being in a loud voice that the crop had matured. The tobacco was picked ceremoniously and three plants were always left standing in the plot." There was a plot of ground in the forested area of Canada on which nothing grew and which the Gros Ventres called "Broken Grass." In Lame Bull's time they used to leave offerings there whenever they passed nearby. The Boy and other old men and women believe that this was the site on which the original tobacco was planted under instruction from the Supreme Being. [R.F.]

[5] The original Gros Ventres, according to the same tradition, had no corn. Corn originated among the Gros Ventres of Dakota. [For confirmation of tradition regarding raising of tobacco, see Flannery, 1953, p. 61, n. 12.]

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Before the rite began all things were made ready. Ordinarily the sacred incense-hearth, so important a feature of the rite, was already built. It was customarily made by the keeper immediately after his lodge was erected on arrival at a new camp site and he had to have such a hearth in his lodge at all times. By way of exception, when the seasonal rite took place at once on the arrival of the tribe at a new camp and in the rush the keeper had not gotten around to making the hearth, he would begin the preparation of the offerings by so doing.

This sacred hearth was quite distinct from the keeper's ordinary lodge hearth. The latter was made without ceremony, in the center of his lodge, and without an encompassing circle of rocks. Such rock circles were made only when fires were kindled on the march, to prevent prairie fires, and on hearths built outside the lodge for boiling bones and so forth.

The sacred incense or smudge hearth was built with a special solemn rite of its own, a rite in no way connected with seasonal or other ones, in the following manner.

The keeper himself made the hearth, assisted by the co-keeper and Pipe child, or in some cases by an attendant or vow-maker. First the grass was cut on an oblong space, about the length of the Flat Pipe bed, between the ordinary family hearth in the center of the lodge and the Flat Pipe bed at the rear (north) side thereof. The keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child, if all three were to participate, chewed peppermint, spat on their hands, and rubbed their hands together as if washing them, but did not rub their arms or head.

The keeper, facing south (as also his wife) and holding an axe in his right hand, lowered the axe three times, spitting at each lowering, and then chopped in the ground the outline of the oblong space, beginning at the southeast corner and proceeding clockwise. Then with a knife he cut off all the grass in this space, smoothing it but not digging out a sunken one. The co-keeper, who had previously placed a choice piece of buffalo robe, about 3' to 4' square from a buffalo that had completely shed its winter coat, to the east of the oblong space, then spat three times on the cut grass and removed dirt and placed it on the robe, carried the blanket of grass and dirt out clockwise, turned to the east, walked a good

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kidneys and ribs offered as "coverings" after a hunt were left all day on the bundle and late in the evening given to some of the very poor children to eat.

Moving, carrying and handling the Flat Pipe bundle in camp and on the march were the exclusive responsibility and privilege of the Flat Pipe co-keeper. Whenever the bundle was to be transferred from its tripod to its bed or vice versa, to be hung up over the door of the keeper's lodge, to be carried to and from the sweat lodge or Sacrifice Dance, or to be transported from camp site to camp site, she was the one to do it.

Exceptions to the rule, in emergency, were rare. One such exceptional instance was reported by Coming Daylight. On one occasion the Flat Pipe bundle was still outside the keeper's lodge when darkness set in, and both the keeper and co-keeper were away. In such a case an ex-co-keeper would usually substitute for the co-keeper, but there was none around. It was not customary to leave the Pipe out at night, or even to leave it alone. So Coming Daylight's maternal aunt said to her: "We will put this poor thing [the Pipe] in. Your father once owned a pipe [not the Flat Pipe], so you should not be afraid to handle it." So the two went out and gathering sage rubbed themselves all over with it. Then together they unloosed the bundle and started to carry it in, all the time praying: "We are children of an ex-keeper and this is just the same as if our fathers owned this Pipe. We have the right to handle it. We hate to see you stay out over night. It would be bad if you stayed out. We are bringing you in because we pity you. We hope you will have pity on us, and that we will have long life." And Coming Daylight, about 86 years old in 1940, ended her account by remarking that her prayer was heard because she had lived so long, even though in these last years her legs were unsteady and every little while she fell down on her buttocks!

Coming Daylight also mentioned one other old woman, Mouse, who, although not the co-keeper, used to volunteer to carry the Pipe bundle on her back when the people were on the march from camp site to camp site. This was apparently at a period when horses were very scarce, only one or two to several families, and dog travois had to be resorted to.

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482 778 dog travois had to be resorted to. The old woman thought that she was doing the Pipe a great favor and that her packing it would bring her good fortune.

The co-keeper when afoot and carrying the Pipe bundle in her arms held it under her left armpit with her left arm encircling it and her right arm and hand supporting it from beneath, and with the stem-end of the bundle pointing forward.

482 778 783 The co-keeper was usually very careful to observe the stem-end-forward rule. But if through forgetfulness or absent-mindedness she had carried the bundle bowl-end forward or had hung it on its tripod with the bowl end to the east, she would be to blame. The keeper, co-keeper or Pipe child would be told by the Pipe in a dream about the error while sleeping [that night] on the Pipe bed, and she would have to be ritually cleansed. The keeper and co-keeper would sit on their haunches on the Pipe bed facing each other, he facing east and she west. Peppermint was put on the incense hearth to make a smudge. The keeper then took a bunch of sage brush, some of which he usually kept ready, held it up in his right hand, and prayed to the Supreme Being to release his wife, to take away her mistake, and not to be angry over it. Then he lowered the large brush by three stages, circled it three times around the incense, and "sort of brushed" her with it three times from her head down her right arm and from her head down her left arm, and three times from her chin up over her face to her occiput. Then he laid down the bunch of sage brush between the incense hearth and south edge of the Pipe bed, and said to his wife: "Take this sage brush out." She took it, walked out with it clockwise, turned to her left, that is, in the east, walked a good way off, and lowering it in the usual three stages deposited reverently on the ground.

778 788 Grasping and depositing the Flat Pipe bundle were regularly done by the co-keeper in a ritually prescribed manner. Before actually taking hold of it, she would face it, and three times pose at shoulder height her empty right hand, palm down with fingertips joined and pointing away from her, make a motion or pass with her hand toward the bundle while at the same time spitting a bit of chewed peppermint on it, and then bring her hand back to

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position. In depositing the bundle on its bed, she would lower it gently in three stages, spitting at each one.

When the people were staying for any length of time at a given camp site, the Flat Pipe bundle, which was always kept inside the keeper's lodge during the night time, would regularly in good weather be taken out early in the morning at breakfast time by the co-keeper, with the customary grasping and carrying ritual, and hung up, stem-end pointing east just over the door of the keeper's lodge, not on its tripod. The outside of the keeper's lodge around the door up to full reaching height, about 6 or 7 feet, was painted red. The thong handle of the bundle was looped over, the two projecting ends of a stout pin, skewered horizontally in the tent cover, on the immediate line above the door at the upper edge of the red-painted area.

The bundle would hang over the door all day until about sundown when it would be brought back into the lodge for the night. In bringing it back, the co-keeper walked out of the lodge, unhooked and grasped the bundle, turned clockwise, walked all around the lodge clockwise, entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end of the bundle three times in the smudge, and deposited the bundle in the usual ritual manner, as above described, at the far north end of the Pipe bed.

The final decision as to when and whether the camp, in which the Flat Pipe chanced to be, was to be moved was made by the head man especially the band chiefs and in the olden days the tribal chief too, the keepers having perhaps taken the initiative in calling them together. They would notify the Pipe keeper. Early the next morning the co-keeper with the usual ritual observances would take the Pipe bundle from its bed and carry it and its tripod outside the lodge a little to the north thereof, set up the tripod and hang the bundle on it. The tripod would be set up with two of its legs closer together, and with the third leg stretched out farther, its upper end projecting a little beyond the junction of the three legs. On this projecting end the bundle was hung by the thong handle looped over the end. On other occasions the bundle was hung on the tripod stem-end pointing east. But on this occasion the rule was superseded by another, namely, the third leg

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778 had to point in the direction in which the camp was to move. This orientation could be discerned from a considerable distance. The people would already know that camp was to be broken that day and early in the morning would go out to see how the bundle hung and which direction the third leg of the tripod was pointing.

778 When the camp families were packed and all ready to start off, 492 the Flat Pipe's own special horse was led up to the tripod where 484 the bundle hung. The co-keeper, before taking hold of the bundle made the customary three passes at it spitting chewed peppermint at the bundle with each pass, lifted it off the tripod, turned around clockwise, made three motions with the bundle, stem-end forward, as if putting it on the saddle (note saddle of Flat Pipe in Plate 2A), and at the third actually put it there where it rested crosswise, held taut with thongs to both sides of the saddle and under the horse's belly. Then she mounted from the right side her own horse, and started off leading the horse that carried the Pipe bundle, the latter horse coming behind her own, not abreast.

482 Sometimes the co-keeper, *ad libertum*, would carry the bundle herself on her own back, putting it on her back before mounting her horse and carrying the bundle with the thong handle resting over her upper arm just below the bend of the shoulder and the bundle itself at her back. To help her mount so burdened they would lead her to a side hill. The Boy's mother, when co-keeper, at times on the march used to say that the bundle so carried felt heavy at the start, but after a while felt light. When the co-keeper so carried the bundle, leading the Pipe's own horse, she followed the keeper. Occasionally the Pipe bundle was carried on a travois, but we obtained no details on this point.

484 On the march, while scouts were not uncommonly sent out ahead 778 to find the best route or watch for enemies, the co-keeper with the Pipe-bundle led the cavalcade itself. No one could go in front of her: if any one did, bad luck would befall him. If both the Flat and Feathered Pipes were with the caravan, the Flat Pipe was in the lead, next the Feathered Pipe, then the chief or chiefs, finally the body of the group. The keepers rode immediately behind the respective co-keepers, never before. If the caravan were on the way to one celebration or a Sacred Dance, the group giv-

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ing the Dance came right after the Pipe or Pipes. If there were no sacred pipe with the caravan, the chief or head man rode first in the line of march.

On the march, which was ordinarily at a slow pace, no one stopped to smoke or for other reason unless the co-keeper halted. When they stopped, usually about half-way, she would hang the bundle on the tripod, all by itself away from and well forward of the crowd in the direction of the trek. All stopped behind it; they did not surround it; it was always ahead of them in the direction they were heading. No one moved to re-start ahead until the co-keeper did so.

If the route of march necessitated crossing a big river, such as the Missouri River, the procedure in Coming Daylight's words, was as follows. "They put the Flat Pipe bundle in a bullboat. Of course there was no child in the bullboat. They chose two young men, popular and heroes, to lead that bullboat across. These two would be all painted red. They had robes rolled up and when they got midway across the river they put the robes in the water as offerings. As soon as they started across my grandmother up on the cliff at the river's edge would start cheering and singing the victory song. This song is a strong-heart song. When there was something hard to do they sang this song. They would say the names of the two young men and sing this song to encourage them. They all moved the bullboat into the water and different people would put into it various things to be thrown into the middle of the river. The keeper and co-keeper who owned the Pipe were not supposed to swim or bathe in water. Both could ride in this bullboat with the Pipe, but the woman always did. The two young men [on horseback apparently] held the robes [offering mentioned above] in one hand and pulled the bullboat with the other. The Pipe in the bullboat was the first of the caravan to cross the river. After all the people had gotten across the old women had a victory dance and sang for the crossing."

On arrival at the new camp site the co-keeper would hang the Pipe bundle on the tripod at a spot just to the north of where the keeper's lodge was to be erected. Then the new sage bed and sacred hearth were made, and the bundle brought into the lodge,

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with the rites previously described. On a day's journey it may be noted, the bundle would have been placed on the tripod in the open three times: before starting out, about half-way, and on arrival at the new camp.

The killing of a pure white buffalo, a pure albino,—always a cow never a bull, according to Gros Ventre tradition,—was an extremely rare occurrence. The killer could keep it himself, give it to the Flat Pipe keeper, or offer it as a sacrifice. This sacrificial rite was last held when the Boy's father, Lame Bull was a young man, probably in the 1850's, and served as a calendrical date: "at the time the white buffalo skin was offered as a sacrifice." The Boy, our sole informant on this rite, could give only fragmentary data on it, gotten from his father who had witnessed only that one time in his life.

If the killer chose to offer the albino skin as a sacrifice, he had to vow, and then had formally to notify the keeper of the Flat Pipe. Carrying it he went clockwise round the camp circle on the inside and brought it to the keeper's lodge. The keeper painted the man's face with charcoal paint (not red), the ritual color for sacrifices, with a circular band around his face, on the forehead, the sides of the cheeks near the ears, and under the jawbones and chin, and with also a star on the bridge of his nose. The circle, Lame Bull told the Boy, represented the sundog; the star, the sun. A procession in which the keeper, co-keeper, Pipe child, ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers, the two attendants, and all the people took part started at the keeper's lodge and marched clockwise all around the camp circle, very slowly, with three stops (probably at the west, east and south) for prayer, till they reached the sweat-lodge near the keeper's lodge. The albino skin was given a touch of charcoal paint, as in other sacrifices, but The Boy did not know other details of the special rite used in preparing the skin, nor did he know who carried it in the procession. On arrival of the procession at the sweat lodge, the main body of the people went away, but the small group who were to sweat remained and went through the whole sweat-lodge rite at which the albino skin was hung up on the sweat-lodge pole and after which, in accord-

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CHAPTER IV

THE FEATHERED PIPE AND OTHER PIPES

115 778 Our information is less full and more fragmentary on the Feathered Pipe than on the Flat Pipe, especially regarding ritual details. Our chief informants were Al Chandler, Garter Snake, Jim Shortman, Charles Buckman, The Boy, Thick, Thomas Main and Turn Toes. Additional information was given by Cora Chandler, Singer, and Mary Ereaux. The Boy, our main informant on the Flat Pipe, had never been intimately associated with the Feathered Pipe, as he had been with the Flat Pipe, but he gave us many details, and especially six of the Feathered Pipe songs recorded (Nos. 45-46, 126-129). Al Chandler had been chosen as attendant at one of the more important rites; Garter Snake had been Pipe child, beginning at the age of six or seven, during part of the keepership of her father, Bull Lodge; Jim Shortman recalled much from the time when his father had been keeper. Garter Snake, blind, of keen memory and now a practicing Catholic, before giving her account knelt down, blessed herself and prayed to Ixtciboni:hohat; for, she said, this Pipe was given from heaven. (For her own and other versions of the origin of the Feathered Pipe, see No. 6 in Appendix.) She was particularly concerned to tell truthfully what and only what her father had told her or what she had herself seen and experienced. All of the above informants had witnessed or participated in some of the Feathered Pipe rites. So far as we could discover, however, no one Gros Ventre at the time of our field work was familiar with the whole cycle of rites or with all the details of any of the more important ones. Much is lost for good. Our task has been to salvage what we could and to put together the scattered fragments, leaving many lacunae. In presenting the data we have, we shall follow the same order as has been followed in describing the Flat Pipe.

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no crying by children in the lodge; if a child started to cry it was taken out at once. Dogs were not allowed in the lodge, nor could the keeper use a dog robe. Bones could not be broken in the lodge to extract marrow, as in the case of the Flat Pipe lodge and under the same penalty. War-deed contests in the Feathered Pipe lodge were prohibited and penalized, as in the Flat Pipe lodge,—with a four-day penalty. The right of asylum was recognized exactly as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge.

The lodge occupied a place of honor in the camp circle, but whether opposite the opening of the circle or just in front of the keeper's band is controverted, as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge (see p. 58).

The prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keepership of the Feathered Pipe appear to have been quite similar in number and kind to those attaching to the keepership of the Flat Pipe, although we did not obtain as full details regarding them as we did for the Flat Pipe. We shall mention only those prerogatives and restrictions for which we obtained specific information. The functional relation of the various prerogatives and restrictions to the sacredness and dignity of the keepership was quite the same for both Pipes.

In accord with the dignity of their office, the keeper and co-keeper were expected to comport themselves respectably on all occasions and to conform to the strict ethical norms to be mentioned presently.

The people were in turn expected to treat them with great respect. Things asked for by the keeper had to be handed to him, not thrown, exactly as with the Flat Pipe keeper, and under the same penalty. If someone absent-mindedly stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the keeper, the latter would keel over in a faint and the co-keeper would have to smudge him ritually to bring him to, or the offender would fall down with a "cramp." Coming Daylight once saw a woman in a crowded place step over the feet of the Feathered Pipe co-keeper. The woman "fell in a cramp." Her mother got angry and upbraided the co-keeper: "You ought to know better than to leave your feet sticking out." But her sister went over and kissed the co-keeper and begged her in a nice way to doctor the stricken woman. So the co-keeper got up and

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793 also to the whites, both mounted and dismounted their horses from the right side, just as all other Gros Ventres did.

784 "You could not lend the Feathered Pipe keeper a horse, because if you loaned it to him this was just the same as giving it to him. You could not take it back once the rope was in his hands. The keeper never borrowed anything. If someone thought the keeper was short of something and without thinking said to him, 'Here is one you can use,' that was just too bad because that was really giving it to him."

[201] Apparently the keeper could not point at a person with his index finger, but would instead use his thumb.

793 624 The role of the Feathered Pipe keeper in the political life of the Gros Ventre was quite similar to that of the Flat Pipe keeper, as regards such things as decision when and whether to move camp, matters of public policy, and veto power thereupon.

Feathered Pipe and Bundle

773 ●778 The Feathered Pipe was first given, as noted in the origin stories (see No. 6 in Appendix), from above by Bha'a, the thunder and storm being. Garter Snake's father, Bull Lodge, used to tell her that it was really given by Ɬxtcibaⁿi:hə̀hat, the Supreme Being, through Bha'a; that the Supreme Being was the father of the Pipe; and that it was to remain forever with the Gros Ventres and never under any condition to be transferred to any other tribe. According to Gros Ventre tradition, while the Feathered Pipe is very old, it is not as old as the Flat Pipe; when the Feathered Pipe was first given to the Gros Ventres, they were already in the possession of horses. According to The Boy, the Feathered Pipe was first given after the Gros Ventres came to their present territory which had previously been Snake Indian country, but before the coming of the whites thereto. With the Pipe itself were given in the beginning the stone image or face, the whistle, and the staff, to be described presently.

778 The proper name of the Feathered Pipe was ana:θanitč (it has feathers).

776 We were unable to attend any unwrapping rite and to see the Pipe. It was described to us as being in one piece, of "smooth,"

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"glistening" [no doubt, highly polished], very dark grey or greyish brown stone, with three or four humps on the upper surface of the stone stem part. Our informants, who had seen the Pipe, disagreed as to whether there are feathers on the Pipe itself, and one of them stated that it had looked different to him on the two occasions he had seen it.

In the Pipe bundle were many other sacred objects besides the Pipe itself. Most of these had their separate wrappings or cases, the Pipe itself being wrapped in buffalo hair. The first keeper, according to Carter Snake, wrapped the Pipe itself in a bit of white buffalo skin. The outermost wrapping of the Pipe bundle was, originally at least, of tanned elkskin, tied around with four strings. There was also, again originally at least, a bear robe cover for the bundle.[4]

The Pipe bundle would shake and quiver when there was going to be an earthquake. The keeper could then predict that the earthquake would occur soon, although he could not predict the exact time. Not so long ago Cora Chandler's old aunt saw the bundle quiver, and sure enough that summer an earthquake occurred.

Informants consistently agreed that there were four main things in the bundle, and that two of the four were the Pipe itself and the carved stone face.[5] Most of them included the feathered stick among the four. As to whether the fourth was the whistle, the owl, or the crane, there was considerable conflict of opinion, a conflict we were unable to clear up.

The feathered stick, from which the Pipe itself derived its name,

[4] Dr. Hagener noted at the 1951 opening that the innermost wrapping of the whole bundle was of "old bison leather" and the outer wrapping of modern cloth." [R.F.]

[5] Dr. Hagener stated in letter of Jan. 18, 1954, "The pipe displayed in the pictures [Plate 3, C and D] was not the chief pipe of the bundle (that having mysteriously disappeared). It was however made of the red stone commonly traded from the Minnesota area. Although there were other pipes in the bundle this was the only one we were permitted to see. Iron Man checked on the presence of other pipes by feeling inside the leather casings, but did not bring them out." Under date of Aug. 8, 1954, Dr. Hagener remarked: "Dr. Nitz was of the opinion that there were two somewhat similar pipes in the bundle, one of which had disappeared. The picture . . . is of the remaining one." [R.F.]

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778 was a wooden staff about three or four feet long, to which were attached feathers from "all kinds of birds," including the eagle, the feathers literally covering the staff. The staff itself was given the first keeper in the beginning from above, but tradition is not consistent as to whether it was already feathered or was later feathered by this keeper. At any rate the feathers still on the staff are believed to be the original ones, are not broken off and are perfectly preserved. According to one report the staff has porcupine quill work on it; according to another, it is undecorated. The first keeper wrapped the stick in smoked skin, for which a wrapping of black and white cotton flannel was later substituted.

[532] The image, called inite:até (it is a person) translated "human face," was described to us as about eight inches long, of stone, "with a trace of faded red in it" and looking like the "brown pottery of a teapot," of human shape, male according to one informant, female according to another. It was wrapped in buffalo hair and until Curly Head's keepership was rarely unwrapped, and even when unwrapped only the face was supposed to be exposed, by raising a bit of the cover, although Curly Head exposed the whole figure.* Formerly, according to Garter Snake, nobody was allowed to look at the face, except the keeper and even he could do so only now and then. Garter Snake, although Pipe child for six or seven years while her father Bull Lodge was keeper, had never seen it. Sitting High, who succeeded Bull Lodge, showed the face of the image very rarely, only once or twice so far as Al Chandler, his grandson, had heard, and even old-timers wondered what it looked like. Sitting High would take the wrapped image out of the large bundle and let you hold it and pray to it, and this oftener than he would the Pipe, but without un-

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*Although this has not been confirmed, it is highly possible that the pipe shown at the 1951 unwrapping and pictured in Plate 3 C-D may actually be this "human face" or image. The stone and color of the pipe meet the specifications (cf. Dr. Hegener's comment as given in footnote 5), the platform of the pipe is of about the right dimension, and one end thereof is carved in the form of a human face as can be seen in Dr. Nitz' photographs. Dr. Hagener noted on the back of the photograph in Plate 3 C that Iron Man allowed the picture to be taken only after long consultation with others and much hesitation. [R.F.]

[123]

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covering it. When they talked to the image, they prayed for whatever they wanted, but did not mention Bha'a. Whom the image represented is not known: probably Bha'a, but this is uncertain.

In recent times, the last real keeper, Curly Head, had danced with the image, contrary to all the ritual rules. Curly Head is consistently reported by informants to have been very careless as well as poorly informed about the ritual and other observances connected with the Feathered Pipe keepership.

The face when exposed was apt to look different to different people on any one occasion as well as to the same person on different occasions. To one man the face seemed not to want to look at him; it "kind of turned away and sweated." To another observer, a woman, it appeared as "a rock that had two shining eyes." Al Chandler had seen the face three times. On each occasion it had a different expression: on the first it looked as if it were "smiling, sort of bashful;" on the second, "kind of sad;" on the third, "sad." On the one occasion on which his wife, Cora Chandler, had seen the face, it "seemed like it was looking away, and wouldn't look at her."

According to Al Chandler, if the face smiled, this was an omen that "everything was going to be good;" if it "looked in the opposite direction, something not good" would happen. According to Garter Snake, if when the keeper saw the face, it had paint on it, there would be plenty of food, no sickness, and so forth; if it had no paint on it, there would be sickness or other misfortune.

The whistle, of wood ("of an unknown kind of wood," according to Garter Snake), was given the first keeper from above. It was kept without wrapping in the Pipe bundle.

The owl in the bundle was the skin of a big owl, painted up, with few of the feathers still attached. The body was wrapped leaving the head and neck sticking out. This owl skin was apparently of modern introduction. According to Al Chandler, when a new keeper took over the Pipe, he could add to the bundle whatever he was told "by a voice" to add; Sitting High said he was told by God Himself to put that owl in the bundle. Sitting High used to talk a great deal to the owl. The owl's duty, accord-

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778 ing to Garter Snake and Jim Shortman was to foretell epidemics or sickness of any kind by telling the keeper in his sleep.

In the bundle, put there by the first keeper, were the dried skins of all kinds of birds, "all the birds there are." He was told to collect and place there as many different kinds as he could find. These skins have been preserved to the present, the smaller ones not wrapped separately.[1] The bundle contained the skin of no four-footed land animal "of the earth" except the muskrat (and a gopher-like animal), but only skins of birds "of the air," for the Feathered Pipe came from above. Among the birds specifically mentioned to us as being in the bundle were: the crane, wrapped separately with only the head showing, and included by one informant, Al Chandler, among the four main things in the bundle; "a big white swan, one bird called Big Bird, a duck and grebes," were put in the bundle, according to Garter Snake, by the first keeper in obedience to directions gotten from above in dreams after the Pipe had been given him; what Al Chandler described as a "bird that is like two-in-one . . . a black speckled bird with two heads on it but only two legs . . . a water bird . . . but it does not fly." He had never heard Sitting High talk to this two-headed bird, but had heard others do so when "covering" the Pipe.

In the bundle was a little animal, almost as big as a gopher. Al Chandler had heard his grandfather mention it, but had never seen it, so did not know of what species it was. Curly Head, when keeper, would take this out of the bundle and rub little children with it from head to foot, four times, and would say the child would live to old age.

Other objects mentioned as being in the bundle were: wild parsley, and, originally at least, the black head-covering the first keeper had on after the storm; moccasins of "animal fur," given the first keeper and still preserved; some sticks for notching (purpose of notching not known by informant, Al Chandler). When Sitting

[1] Dr. Hagener wrote under date of Jan. 18, 1954: "We were particularly puzzled by the various preserved birds. One very definitely looked like a parrot and yet they were not native to any of the area and not common as pets or items of trade so far as I have been able to discern. When questioned about it the Indians just said it was of great age." [R.F.]

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High was keeper, he told Al Chandler that one of the sticks in the bundle was already notched on two edges.

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Like the Flat Pipe, the Feathered Pipe also had its own horse, saddle, robe and blankets. The saddle, like a woman's saddle of old times, had two horns from which fringes hung, and a beaded crupper, and was painted red. The horse had to be the best available; no one could ride it, and if it died or was stolen, another had to be provided. The horse had to be very gentle.

Feathered Pipe Ritual

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Certain general features characteristically recur throughout the Feathered Pipe rites, some contrasting with those of the Flat Pipe rites, others common to both cycles.

The following are distinctive of the Feathered Pipe rites: association with air, sky, cloud, rain and storm; sweet pine for smudge; ritual number four; the drum accompaniment for songs; dancing with the Pipe.

The Feathered Pipe, as previously noted, "belongs up above the earth," having been given by Bha'a the storm being and during a violent thunderstorm. In prayer and other ritual it was particularly associated with the sky and storm clouds, with rain and storms.

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For ritual smudge or incense the dried needles of an evergreen, the "sweet pine," nibiya:tə, were exclusively used, in accordance with directions given the original first keeper of the Pipe,—in accordance too with the origin of the Pipe from "up above the earth," for the "sweet pine" tree grows only in high altitudes, up on the hills and mountains. The tree grows in the Rocky Mountains, the Sweet Grass Hills, and Eagle Butte, nearer to the present location of the Gros Ventres. The Boy has seen it growing in only about two places, to about 10 feet high on top of Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains, and to about five feet high with a trunk about four inches in diameter on the top of Mission Peak in the Little Rockies. We were unable to secure specimens for botanical identification. The tree was described as "like a fir," or "special kind of pine." It is presumably *Abies sp.* Ritually the needles were mostly used to make incense, and, only

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exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.*

According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

* The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

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278 "No, I might get fits." Little Man said: "I will eat it." This he then did. Al was worried about him and did not go to work, for he thought the old man would have fits, but actually nothing happened to him.

• 778 782 The Feathered Pipe was given originally by Bha'a or by the Supreme Being through Bha'a, who had control of thunderstorms. While individual petitioners in simpler rites such as covering the Pipe often addressed the Pipe itself in their prayers, and while in even more formal rites Bha'a was addressed, it appears to have been generally understood that the final word lay with the Supreme Being. The Pipe was given to pray through rather than to pray to, and Bha'a while exercising a certain autonomy in his office as ruler of thunderstorms exercised it as agent of and subordinate to the Supreme Being, and in the more formal ritual prayers of the Feathered Pipe, the Supreme Being's name always came first.

782 [821] Feathered Pipe rites were carried out mostly and mainly, although not exclusively, to ask for rain and for protection against threatening thunderstorms or against lightning and destructive high winds during them, and sometimes for cessation of floods and rains. Often however major or minor rites were carried out, with or without previous promise or vow, for ends not connected with weather, to ask for cure in illness, escape from grave danger, safe return from a war expedition, and so forth. In times of drought, Bha'a would be asked for rain. In the more elaborate rites commonly held each spring, petition would be made "To have rain and [in recent decades] good crops and grass, . . . to bless the earth so everybody will be happy and healthy and no bad luck for anybody all summer, so they [all the people] will live 'till next spring,' that is, so when this time of the year comes around again they will be here."

* 796 The more solemn Feathered Pipe rites, those at least which involved the sweat-lodge ceremony and the unwrapping of the Pipe bundle, were performed only during the period of the year when thunderstorms could be expected, namely from spring through to fall, and never during the winter months. The Pipe could, however be "covered" at any time of the year. In contrast to the Flat Pipe cycle, seasonal rites proper did not occur, although some rite was

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song had also to be sung, apparently to the accompaniment of the drum.

Putting sweet pine needles on the sick person's head, blowing wild parsley on him, and smudging him as doctoring practices have been previously described. According to Singer, if some one were so sick that his life was despaired of, the keeper would take the Feathered Pipe [the bundle, probably] and lay it on him and pray over him, and the sick person would recover, and, she added, "it cured a lot of them." Doctoring power was regularly acquired by reason of acquiring the keepership.

The keeper and co-keeper painted their own faces every morning after breakfast, like the men, in two bands, but broader ones three or four fingers wide, one on the forehead near the hair line and the other from one jaw across the chin to the other jaw.

The Pipe bundle was smudged by the keeper every morning and evening with sweet pine needles. During Curly Head's keepership Cora Chandler and her children were kept busy collecting dried cow dung for the daily smudging ceremony. The keeper made it a practice to "talk" or pray often to the Pipe in his lodge. According to The Boy, the keeper was fearful lest otherwise he might make ritual mistakes, at which the Pipe would be angry. According to Al Chandler, the Pipe being jealous, the keeper "had to talk to it to let it know it was not forgotten or put away; he treated it just like a person."

Customary observances on the occasions of feasts or ordinary meals to guests in the keeper's lodge have been previously described.

When the keeper and the people were camped for any length of time in a given place, the Feathered Pipe bundle was ordinarily taken in the morning from its place of honor opposite the entrance inside the keeper's lodge, hung up outside over the entrance, and brought back inside at eventide.

When the camp was to be moved, the Feathered Pipe keeper, like the Flat Pipe keeper, had, it seems, a consultative voice in the decision and perhaps even veto power at times, although ordinarily the final decision was made by the head men. The decision once made, early in the morning when camp was to be broken, the Feathered Pipe bundle was hung out on its tripod back of the

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keeper's lodge, with two tripod legs close together and the third pointing in the direction of march, as a signal to the people.

On the march, the Pipe bundle was ordinarily packed on Pipe's own horse. Two stuffed parfleches were placed, one on either side of the saddle; blanket robes were thrown over them and the saddle; the bundle, with its covers, was then put thereon and securely lashed down with specially tied rawhide thongs.

On breaking camp, the two Pipe keepers with their Pipes might decide to stay together, or else to separate. "Most of the people [usually] hung around the Pipes." If the Pipe keepers decided to separate, some of the bands or other groups or families might choose to go with one Pipe, others with the other, others still with neither. "Both Pipes had certain bunches who followed them, and when the Pipes split certain ones went with each. Each band suited itself and followed the Pipe it liked best." This, for example, is what happened on the occasion when the Assiniboine captured the Flat Pipe.

If both Pipes stayed together, then according to The Boy, Turn Toes, and Takes the Bow, the Flat Pipe took the lead, the Feathered Pipe coming second in line. Garter Snake could not recall the order of precedence. We did not obtain further clarification of Al Chandler's statement: "The two keepers moved out first side-by side and if the tribe was going to split, it was up to the people which Pipe they would follow." The statement may refer to those occasions when the Pipes were going to separate. On such occasions, all informants were fully agreed that the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe each came first in the line of march of its respective followers. The order on the march, for the Feathered as for the Flat Pipe was: the keeper in the lead, next to him the co-keeper leading the Pipe horse behind her, then the Pipe child alongside or just behind the horse. In this connection the original first co-keeper of the Feathered Pipe was called, in Garter Snake's version of the origin story, "Woman-takes-the-lead."

Other Sacred Pipes

In recent years the Gros Ventres have had only the Flat and Feathered Pipes, but earlier there were others. The Boy listed

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778 five others known to him. In Turn Toes' early days—he was about 80 years old in 1940—there were two others besides the Flat and Feathered Pipes, and before his time there were still others. A pipe of which his father had been keeper was buried with his father.

778 796 Only scattered details, to be given presently, on the origin and ritual of these minor pipes were obtainable. In general the rites and observances followed, to some degree, the broad pattern of those of the two major ones. Each pipe had its own songs. Sweet pine was used, as in the Feathered Pipe ceremonies, for making smudge. The pipes had to be kept "quiet and clean," each in its own bundle in the owner's lodge. An important difference was that ordinarily the pipe was buried with its keeper unless he had during his lifetime transferred it to someone else.

Of the five pipes, other than the Flat and Feathered Pipes known to The Boy, three,—the Beaver Pipe, the one gotten from Bird Tail Butte, and the one given to the Piegan,—were classed by him as "great pipes," although not nearly so great as the Flat and Feathered Pipes; two—the ones gotten from the Gros Ventres of the lower Missouri and from the Crow respectively,—were classed as not so important. We shall first give what information we obtained on these five pipes, and later take up some of the other pipes mentioned to us.[11]

Whether "Beaver Pipe" was a specific name for just one particular historic pipe or a general name for several or all these minor pipes is not clear from our field data.[12]

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[11] Kroeber, 1908, p. 272, mentions that this multiplicity of pipes distinctly differentiates the character of the Gros Ventre pipes from that of the Arapaho.

[12] In 1948 The Boy stated: "The Beaver bundle religion started with the Gros Ventres and was transferred to the Piegan. The difference from the Flat and Feathered Pipes is that when the Beaver Pipe is transferred they give a copy, so that the Beaver Pipe rapidly multiplied while the Flat and Feathered Pipe remained one. The last Gros Ventre to have a Beaver Pipe proper was Weasel Bear,—his two sons, Stiffarm and Mouse, were called Beaver children. The beaver is a showy animal and the Beaver rites as carried out by the Piegan, among whom they were important, were showy

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Other pipes, some at least of them "Beaver" Pipes apparently, were specifically mentioned by our informants. There may be some duplications in the following listing.

The pipe owned by Roasted-in-the-coals, or Roasted-under-the-fire was called asti:θibie:tsa (meaning not obtainable). It was buried with him. It had two big rattles with it about 6 to 8 inches in diameter. After he died, these rattles were brought to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's maternal uncle. He kept them quite a while, but, perhaps because they did not belong to the Flat Pipe which he owned or because he had had a dream about them, he decided to put them away, and had his wife Iron Woman and his niece Coming Daylight dispose of them. They were camping on the Missouri River at the time. The two women dug a kind of tunnel in the bank just big enough to hold them. Coming Daylight pitied these rattles because they were not even wrapped. So she took her robe and wrapped them in it and prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you. You are poor like orphans." And so the two women put them away.

Coming Daylight's father also was keeper of a pipe, but only for a short time as he was killed in war, not long after getting it. When her father first received this pipe, he was not grabbed without warning, as new keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes were. The wives of her uncle, Crow Bull, made a big lodge for her father and put this pipe on a tripod in front of it. Then Crow Bull went to his sister, Coming Daylight's mother, and said: "Go in your lodge. This lodge is yours." So her father and his two wives moved in. Her mother had children at the time and so was not co-keeper, and when the babies cried she would take them out of the lodge. Instead her father's other wife, who never had any children to Coming Daylight's knowledge, was co-keeper. The pipe's place in the big lodge was opposite the door. When Coming Daylight's father died, her mother's brother, Crow Bull, took over the pipe. This pipe, with most of the wrappings removed to lessen the weight, and wrapped in a small bundle with rawhide, lashed around near either end and with a thong handle, was taken by Crow Bull to the war called by the Gros Ventres "When

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778 they wiped us out." After this war in which so many of the Gros Ventres were killed, the survivors moved off leaving this pipe, and Cut-Away's pipe (see below), and "the remains of a third one" (Small Drum's apparently, see below), in a lodge all nicely fixed up.

In Coming Daylight's father's big lodge were two other pipes, one owned by Stabber's father, Small Drums, the other by Cut-Away, or All-Cut-Off. The place of Small Drums' pipe was to the west of her father's pipe, that of Cut Away's to the east. No further details on these two pipes were obtainable, apart from their final disposition mentioned above.

The last Gros Ventre Beaver Pipe of which we obtained record was buried with its last keeper, Weasel Bear, the father of Stiffarm.

778 On the two other "great" pipes previously mentioned as known to The Boy, only the most meager information was obtainable. 648 One of these two was gotten by a Gros Ventre man from Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains. The other, of unknown origin, was in the possession of the Gros Ventres long ago when Lame Bull was a boy and was given, he told The Boy, to the Piegan. The Boy one Fourth of July saw the Piegan "having doings with this pipe."

On the two pipes rated by The Boy as of "less importance," our data are likewise meager. One of these, "a common pipe," was a gift from the Crow. At one time at least it was in the possession of Black Bird. It was procured a few years ago, from one of the sons of the last keeper, by Richard Pohrt, hailing from Flint, Michigan.

The other of the two was a gift from the Hidatsa (called "Lower Gross Ventres" by the present-day Gros Ventres of Montana) or the Mandan. It was called watä:nuta (some kind of black bird) and is generally spoken of as "the pipe of Big Beaver" who was its last [and only?] keeper and with whom it was buried. According to Takes the Bow, the Gros Ventres, not so long ago, had gone east beyond their own territory and encountered these "Lower Gros Ventres." The two parties stopped some distance apart and by use of the sign language discovered who each were. The "Lower Gros Ventres" were glad to meet the Gros Ventres, for

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the two tribes had never been at war. In token of this, the "Lower Gros Ventres" gave the Gros Ventres a pipe to bind the two tribes together, the principal men of each tribe having met together in the middle ground between the parties. In late years some "Lower Gros Ventres" came on a visit to the Fort Belknap agency to inquire about the pipe and to take it back. But the pipe could not be found in the grave of Big Beaver with whom it had been buried.

According to Singer, her father, Bird Chief, had a pipe given by the Sioux or Assiniboine. On a war expedition against the Piegan on which he had taken it, when the Piegan were pressing the Gros Ventres badly, he gave the pipe to his youngest brother who was captured with it, but let go. The pipe however was kept by the Piegan. This happened when Singer was a very small girl.

Relative Dignity and Popularity of the Sacred Pipes

All our informants were fully agreed that the Flat and Feathered Pipes far outranked in sacredness, dignity, power and popularity any and all of the other Gros Ventre sacred pipes.

There were, however, some differences of view among our informants as to the relative status of the Flat and Feathered Pipes themselves. These differences of view, traceable in part to informants' respective affiliations and preferences, were comparatively minor, and are largely reconcilable if we distinguish between what we may call "popular devotion" on the one hand and "liturgico-dogmatic" order of dignity on the other,—a distinction commonly discernible in religious life of other peoples of the world.

As regards "popular devotion," the two Pipes appear to have received about the same number of offerings, vowed and unvowed, from the people, and some Gros Ventres made it a practice rarely or never to cover or robe one of the two Pipes without at the same time covering the other. Some Gros Ventres, while holding both Pipes as superlatively sacred, thought the Feathered Pipe to be in certain respects more powerful, since it, unlike the Flat Pipe, had never been captured by the enemy and since, they held, those bands or groups who, when the tribe separated, followed the Flat

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Pipe met with more accidents and misfortune than those who followed the Feathered Pipe.[18]

As regards "liturgico-dogmatic" order of dignity, the Flat Pipe appears to have had premier rank. It was the older of the two Pipes, having been given at the very time of "creation." On the march, most informants agreed that the Flat Pipe took the lead. The Flat Pipe alone had solemn seasonal rites proper, and these to obtain from the Supreme Being all things necessary for living long and happily, whereas the Feathered Pipe rites were mostly more particularistic in purpose, namely, to ask for rain and for protection against thunderstorms. Finally the Flat Pipe alone was brought to the sacred Sacrifice Dance ceremony to lend added solemnity thereto.

Regardless however of such differences in popularity and dignity and of certain differences of view among our informants, both Pipes were most deeply venerated by all the people, as gifts given in the last analysis by the Supreme Being himself, for the protection and well-being of all the Gros Ventres forever.

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[18] In 1948 The Boy while discussing the relative merits of the two, told a long story of a dream given to his paternal grandfather, Crow Moccasin, keeper of the Feathered Pipe, through which he was able to save the people of his band from an attack by the enemy, although the rest of the Gros Ventres suffered great disaster. Impressed with the fact that the Feathered Pipe avoided capture, nevertheless The Boy still feels that the Flat Pipe is the greater, one argument being: "When the Flat Pipe was captured it found its way back to the Gros Ventres under its own power." For details of story on Loss and Recovery of the Flat Pipe, see No. 8 in Appendix. [R.F.]

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782 *796 occupied a continuous four-day (or three-day and four-night) period.

782 *796 ●778 At some time during the preparatory period, prior to the start of the dance proper, the principal vower's ceremonial grandfather taught him how to dance with the sacred wheel which was in one sense the main ritual object used in the Sacrifice Dance. One such wheel, we were told, is still in existence, in the possession of Mrs. Grace Stevens, but we did not have an opportunity to see it. It was vaguely described to us as being not a "woven wheel" but only a "hoop" with some down feathers attached to it. In dancing with the wheel, the dancer sang and with his right arm hanging down held the wheel in his right hand and swung it back and forth. When he tired of swinging it in his right hand he changed it behind his back to his left and swung it. When the Sacrifice Dance proper began, the principal vower was given possession of it for the duration, with the full right to carry and swing it whenever during the rite he danced and to otherwise use it. If one of the other dancers weakened and fainted from hunger, thirst, fatigue or pain, the principal vower would go to him and pass the wheel back and forth in front of the unconscious man's face, and would so revive him. Whether other vowers than the principal one could ever dance with the wheel we did not discover.

*796 [834] Those who "joined" the dance, at least the principal and associate vowers, had to refrain from sexual intercourse for a while, say two or three nights, before the dance proper began.

The morning after the last of the four nights of singing began the ceremonial "scouting" for felling and fetching of the center pole of the dance lodge.

Early that morning, four prominent warriors, men who had been successful as scouts in sighting the enemy and bringing back information, were selected to go look for a center pole. Each had to put on his war accoutrements as if he were setting out on a war expedition. While the four were gone, those who had sent them gathered buffalo chips and put them in a pile. The four scouts on returning announced their approach by giving a special yell, and the people would say: "The scouts are coming." As the four approached closer to the waiting crowd who were ranged in a half-

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been told to do and put up the Drum Dance. Thus was the Drum Dance introduced among the Gros Ventres into their sacred dance system."

When Lame Bull told The Boy this story, the latter asked him: "Who was it who gave this dance and these horses?" And his father answered: "The killdeer." So the Drum Dance is owned by the killdeer (*Oxyechus vociferus*).

The Drum Dance ranked high in dignity among the Sacred dances. Lame Bull ranked it next after the Sacrifice Dance, and first in importance in the Drum-Dog-Kitfox-Crazy group, because, he told The Boy, the Drum Dance was "most difficult and complicated to carry out," and through it "more horses had come to the Gros Ventre tribe."

The Drum Dance was held only in fulfillment of a vow. The rite lasted the customary four days and nights, with a big feast each day. The Boy was uncertain whether a sweat-lodge ceremony was held during the Drum Dance.

The chief sacred objects used in the Drum Dance were, so far as we could learn, the very large drum, and the fur-wrapped crooked sticks which were carried by the dancers and which to judge from the origin story were four in number and were decorated as therein described. The dancers themselves were painted yellow all over their bodies, with black dots, representing hail, from the waist up.

Four of the Drum Dance songs, numbers 52-55, were recorded, as sung by The Boy, who had learned them from his father, Lame Bull. There were others which The Boy did not remember, nor did he know the ritual order in which they were sung.

Two of these four songs, numbers 52 and 53, are wordless, and were sung at good-time dances during the Drum Dance. Number 53 is the song that was sung by the men marching out of the dry lake-bed when the Drum Dance was first given to the starving Gros Ventre man by the killdeer. These dancing songs were lively ones, sung to fast time.

Song number 54 is difficult to translate as the meaning of two of one of the words was unknown. The Boy ventured the conjecture that the whole wording might possibly mean: "There are

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things together, and making ready a kit-fox skin stuffed to look like a live kit-fox. This last was used in the dance. The Gros Ventre made a great impression on his tribe and his dance was accepted and recognized as a Sacred Dance, and a vow was made to perform it."

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The Kit-fox Dance was held, like the other dances, in the summer time,—about August, so Charles Buckman thought,—and everyone was obliged to be on hand for it. Preliminaries might however begin far back in the preceding winter, particularly the painting and taking out of the joiner's wives by the ritual grandfathers. This latter preliminary phase of the dance seems, from Coming Daylight's report (infra), to have been very similar to a corresponding phase of the Crazy Dance, but we were able to secure only the following, rather vague, account of it as described by Coming Daylight:

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"In the Kit-fox Dance the wives had to go out with their 'grandfathers' just as in the Crazy Dance. My uncle, Crow Bull, once joined it with his Assiniboine wife, Coming Day, and it took a long time. The 'grandfathers' used to take extra long [in preparation for] for this dance and, if the [preparatory] time was winter, they made nice places, brushing the snow away, where they would lie down with their ceremonial grandfathers. The 'granddaughters' would go to their 'grandfathers' ' lodges and then the 'grandfathers' would take them out, and the 'grandsons' would be painted. The 'grandsons' would have so to go for a long time, from winter to spring, to their 'grandfathers,' before actually joining the dance. So Crow Bull would go with his wife to his 'grandfather's' lodge to get instructions and each time he would be painted and the 'grandfather' would take Crow Bull's wife out and brush away the snow and lie with her."

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Besides the stuffed kit-fox skin mentioned in the origin story above, the Kit-fox Dance paraphernalia included two crooked sticks, used when dancing. These were shaped like a shepherd's crook or hockey stick, with strips of little otter skin carefully wrapped around them "all the way down" and with eagle-tail feathers tied to them here and there. The wrapping had to be done in a certain way, and only by a brave warrior. These sticks

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were owned only by fearless great "chiefs." At one time, Bushy Head owned one, and Singer's husband, Iron Bucket, another. A third man would own the Kit-fox Dance rattle. Buffalo Run (or Chase) was one such rattle owner.

In addition to these owners of the two sticks and the rattle, numbers of other men would join the Kit-fox Dance, but according to Singer, "only chiefs." The male joiners chose a little girl "as a little kit-fox" to dance with them. She had to be a biθa:sθa, a "dearly-loved" child,[48] and to be so chosen was looked upon as a great honor. The "little kit-fox" danced a *pas seul* in the rite. Her father would be there with her, in the background, just as a mother would be present for her son in the Fly Dance. As "dearly-loved" children, especially female, were not numerous, it was difficult for Kit-fox Dancers to obtain one for their ceremony. Coming Daylight's father had intended to offer her to dance therein, but he died while she was still a small child. She recalled seeing a girl, whom she knew, dance at one Kit-fox rite, and seeing "the girl's father dance for her in the back of the lodge."

We recorded two of the Kit-fox Dance songs, numbers 56 and 57, as sung by The Boy. The first of these two, a wordless one, was the one the kit-fox sang while the Gros Ventre of the origin story slumbered. The second also was wordless, as originally sung by the kit-fox when giving this man the dance, but the following words, later added to it, have a double reference: to kit-foxes who run into their burrows when they see human beings, and to the following traditional incident:

"Some time after the Kit-fox Dance had become known to the Gros Ventres, a young man, Little Weasel, vowed to hold it. In it he used the stuffed kit-fox. After the dance was over, a war party started out. Little Weasel went along, bringing the stuffed kit-fox with him. The party encountered a big party of Crow (or Sioux). The enemy attacked and made the Gros Ventres run. Then Little Weasel who was packing the stuffed kit-fox set it down, making a sort of mound, and walked around it singing this song (No. 57) and adding the somewhat ironic and poetic words, 'Run your best. You will (not) get into your lodge(s).' He him-

[48] Flannery, 1941, pp. 33-37.

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the grandmother died she was buried with it. Coming Daylight and Singer had never heard in their grandmothers' time of the "cows" wearing belts with four buffalo tails attached, or being painted with a pipe symbol on the cheeks, or calling like crows when dancing.[40] The "cows" would don their good buckskin dresses for the dance, and, according to Singer, wore "for their belts a little calf robe tied around."

The "bull" wore as a headdress the shaggy skin of a buffalo head with the horns attached. Coming Daylight emphatically insisted that only one woman, the "bull," had horns on her headdress.[41]

The two attendants danced during the rite, but had no feathered or horned headdresses. Coming Daylight mentioned wearing her elk-tooth dress when functioning as a "calf," but spoke of no specific ritual costume for "calves" or for the "bull calf."

The dance lodge, a big one, was, according to The Boy, set up outside the camp circle. The men used to put it up for them. The center pole, not so big as the Sacrifice Dance one, was erected without ceremony, and was painted red by the "boss." Each dancer had her own [ceremonial?] digging-stick made of a stout cherry or Juneberry branch about 2" to 3" in diameter, with the distal end pointed and curved. These digging sticks were tied to the center pole all around, with the handle end resting on the ground and the curved end pointing outward. Both sticks and ties were painted [red?] by the "boss." Coming Daylight remarked *apropos* of this: "I was small then, but I certainly looked to see how that pole was fixed. It is a good thing I did. Most children would be too crazy to observe how things were." She had never heard of two tent-poles, two pegs and two ropes of the dance lodge being painted respectively one black and one red.[42] A fire burned in or close to the middle of the lodge.

The two (or one) men singers sat in the place of honor in the

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[40] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 260-61.

[41] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 260. Coming Daylight had seen the Blood Indians' Women's Dance, with the women wearing headdresses like those of the Gros Ventre women and with the "bull" sitting over on the west side.

[42] Kroeber, 1908, p. 261.

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769 —rather than the power-giving being who bestows upon the
787 recipient power the latter can use at will without having recourse to or summoning the original donor. No historical interpretation is here being suggested. It looks, instead, that Little Man's deviant power in the case was merely an idiosyncratic variant of the ghost helper concept to which, not wishing to assume the normal public offices of persons with ghost helpers, he attached to curing functions not for all ailments but for ailments caused by ghosts.

Personal Supernatural Powers

787 Supernatural power was acquired by an individual mostly for
778 success in war, accumulation of wealth, doctoring, gambling or love. It was obtained more commonly by quest, although often without quest, and could be transferred by sale, gift or bequest. It was bestowed by many different kinds of beings,—mostly quadrupeds, birds, snakes, rocks; in some cases, ghosts, indeterminate "persons" or "spirits." How and from whom power was acquired differed appreciably in accordance with the several above-listed kinds of power. These differences we shall describe later in detail under these several categories: war, wealth, doctoring, gambling and love. Before doing so, we shall deal with certain characteristics more or less common to all the above five categories.

782 In general, the Gros Ventres distinguished between three chief
869 methods of fulfilling their desires and wants: natural ability, prayer and power. A person was supposed to make best use of his native physical and mental endowments to acquire skills, to use his wits, to develop his capacities and personality,—in a word, to rely on himself and to stand on his own feet, whether as food-getter, craftsman, warrior, gambler, or what not. His second recourse, where his inborn and acquired abilities fell short or threatened to fall short of enabling him to fulfill his wishes and needs, was prayer, primarily although by no means exclusively to the Supreme Being. The third choice, in the ideal order, was resort to power.

Turn Toes, for instance, as an orphaned boy used to be advised

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say: "It is not good to ask that kind of a career [from powers]. It would be a life misspent and would be dearly paid for. Man's dearest possession is life, and this would be cut off."

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Charles Buckman had heard old men say that, although they had fasted and prayed over and over again for power, they had never had even a dream, and that this may have been why they had lived to old age.

According to The Boy, his father Lame Bull, when a young man, dreamed that the being who lived on Baldy Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains called him. So on one occasion when the Gros Ventres were camped near this butte, Lame Bull thought this was a good time to accept the invitation and go up on this butte and sleep. He was getting ready to do so, when his father gave him a sound scolding: "I always told you not to try to be a holy man, a man with power of that kind. Those who have such power do not live long. Forget about sleeping on the mountain and attend to the horses and lodge poles. We need you at home. Mind your own business. So Lame Bull did not get to sleep on the mountain. His father was boss."

Coming Daylight came back repeatedly to the same theme. "I am not a medicine woman [with power] and that is why I have lived to be such an old woman." "I am not sorry I refused the medicine power offered me in a dream. Medicine people die soon. It seems like they have a certain time to die and they don't live to be old like myself and Singer. These medicine people are not strong like others." "I never accepted any kind of power. Those who have power die too soon." "They [the beings] used to trick people into taking all these things [powers] because they wanted them to die. The holy dreams are very tricky."

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Singer gave her own experience. "I used to take a blanket or other offering and put it in deep water and pray that they [apparently the water monsters] would have pity on me. One night after I had just done this I dreamed that a person was standing there and that nearby lay the emaciated body of one who was very very sick. This person told me: 'I give you my body.' This is the way a being puts it in a dream when going to bestow power. Then the person showed me how to doctor, he used a pipe-stem which

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was full of 'nicotine,' and showed me how to draw out sickness through the stem. But I told him: 'I don't care to have any power, because people who accept power have only a certain length of time to live and it is always too soon [short].'"

Those who possessed gambling power in particular always became afflicted with some serious ailment of their legs and/or arms. There would be pain in and swelling of the joints, and the possessors would die before their time. This happened to Lone Bear, The Boy's wife's father, who had gambling power; while still in his prime his legs went bad, and even though he quit gambling to escape the penalty, he died prematurely. Red Whip, too, one of the greatest of those with gambling power, who died in 1912, died, the Gros Ventres believed, before his time.

It was believed that Bull Lodge, a great medicine man, did not live his life out.

A person, however, who had acquired power and later transferred all of it by gift or sale to another person or persons could thereby escape the penalty and live his life out. In this case the penalty would be transferred, along with the power, to the transferee or transferees.

Doctoring power was sometimes avoided or refused for other reasons than fear of or unwillingness to accept the penalty of illness or shortened life. Doctors, somewhat like keepers of the sacred Pipes, had to live restricted lives, abstain from certain foods, and avoid certain actions. Personal liberty was thus curtailed. Coming Daylight, when a young girl, was offered medicine power by a man four successive times in dreams, but she refused: "I did not want to be a medicine woman. I did not like it because medicine people suck on the affected part of the patient and have to swallow what they extract,—even though that man was showing me that I would have to extract with my hands, and not by sucking." Bad Bad Bull had power to cure the powerful "stomach-eating sickness" [cancer?] and used to suck out the small animal that caused it. In his old age he wanted to give this power to his sister, but she would say: "Oh, I am bashful. I would not be able to doctor that sickness. I would like to have the power so I could cure the pains but I would not like the part [or the curing pro-

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cedure] where you pull [suck] it [the animal] out." When she would say that people would tell her: "You should have taken the power and so gotten a lot of things [in payment] for curing that disease."

Some women would refrain from asking power, particularly love power, from men who had it, because payment included allowing sex relations with the man.

While, then, the possession of powers brought the possessor some very worthwhile advantages, advantages differing in kind according to the specific power acquired, it had its drawbacks—chiefly illness and shortened life, but also restrictions on freedom and other obligations distasteful to at least some individuals. The advice, therefore, given by parents and councilors to avoid seeking power is understandable. So, too, is the fact that many neither sought power nor accepted it when it was offered by supernatural beings or by fellow-tribesman. Many thus clung more to what appears to The Boy and others to have been the ideal Gros Ventre philosophy of life: For the fulfillment of your wishes rely on yourself and on prayer, rather than on magical power.

We recorded a number of cases of refusal of power, some of them already cited above in passing. In no case of refusal except one did the person refusing suffer any evil consequences therefor, and two of our informants, Coming Daylight and Singer explicitly stated that such refusal curtailed no penalty. A person was quite free to accept or decline an offer of power whether made by a power-giving being or a power-possessing fellow-tribesman. Neither of the latter would take offense if the offer were declined.

Coming Daylight in various free chats volunteered many details of her own personal refusals of power. Her earliest experience came when she was a very young girl, only about eight years old, and was living with her grandmother. "I used to sleep in a big lodge [with her grandmother]. While I was sleeping, a man came and wakened me. He had a bag of medicine on his back and told me, 'You can be a medicine woman.' The third time he appeared to me [in dreams], there was a person lying there, just skin and bones. The man [with the medicines] said to me, 'You could cure such persons as this one. You can take all these medicines,'

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and he spread out, all the medicines and told her what each was for and said, 'Do everything I tell you to do. Lay your hands on the sick and you will have it [medicine? cause of illness?] on your hands.' But I never wanted to take this and I would tell the man so. In the morning I would tell my dream to my grandmother, although I was not supposed to do so until after the fourth dream, and my grandmother would say to me: 'Do not say anything. You will be a great medicine woman.' But I did not want this power. I kept refusing it and for this reason after the man had appeared to me in dreams the fourth time he quit coming. I would have been great if I had accepted the power but I did not want it.—Maybe if this dream had come to me later I might have accepted the power and then I would have been like Good Singer [Coming Daylight's father's sister, a famous medicine woman of Coming Daylight's earlier years]."

On later occasions, too, she was offered power in dreams, but she always refused and does not regret having so refused. "But," she said, "all I wanted was to live a peaceful life and get food easily. I have always been well fixed with things to eat and have gotten things easily, because I prayed for these things instead of taking medicine power . . . besides I had too many children to be a medicine woman. . . . My children were all Catholics. I too joined the Church, and I will be a good Catholic until I die."

Coming Daylight was also offered in a dream the power to "know children," that is, power to doctor women who did not want children and likewise refused it.[8]

On other occasions, an old medicine man, who had cured her infant daughter would offer to transfer curing power to her, at the implicitly understood common price of granting sex relations with him. "If you want that power," he would say, "you can come crying to me." But she used to answer: "Oh, I wouldn't do that because you are one of those who like to have women and you would try to have me."

One instance of refusal of power by Singer was noted previously. Another was described by her as follows. "Once when we had gone to Rocky Boy Reservation, I went quite a distance to fetch

[8] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 129.

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756 wood. Something in my sleeve kept biting me. I would sort of
787 work my sleeve but it kept biting me. Finally I took off my dress
and found it was a big spider with long legs. I did not kill it but
778 just brushed it off. That night in a dream the spider told me:
'Because you had pity on me, I will have pity on you.' But I told
the spider: 'I do not care for any powers from a bug or spider.'
Afterwards people told me I should have accepted the offered
power so that I could doctor spider bites. If you accept a power
like that you are shown in your dream how to doctor. Nothing
happens if you refuse such power." Every once in a while people
[165] were bitten by spiders. Cora Chandler had heard of one such case:
"One fourth of July at Lodge Pole a woman got bitten while fix-
ing her tent and died the same evening. Had Singer accepted the
power offered her, she could have doctored that woman."

Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, once refused power from a rattlesnake to cure snake bites, but acquired power to cure seven dying persons. He had cured people and wanted to pass on what remained of his power to Al. But the latter in recounting the matter stated: "I did not want this power on account of the Catholic Church. I was afraid I might poison somebody. But the old man [Little Man] said: 'You will know all about it and what to do. All you have to do is to accept it. The rest will come to you. I am getting old and you might need it for your children. You could doctor your own children.' But the Catholics did not want you to do such things." So Al declined the old man's offer.

787 By three different men, who possessed love power, The Boy
832 was offered this power, but in all cases he refused. His accounts
follow.

778 "One old man lived near Bear Paws and when he came to my place, then on the Milk River, I used to accommodate him, although he would eat with my father, Lame Bull. He appreciated this and wanted to do something to repay the favor. So he said to me: 'I am going to give you my woman's medicine in payment for consideration of your service to me. I haven't anything of adequate value to pay you back.' He had a looking glass he used to do his stuff with. But I diplomatically refused. I told him: 'I do not like that kind of thing and never have, although I appreciate the fact

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that you are grateful and what you are offering to do for me.' The old man did not get mad or insulted, and he said to me: 'It is well you refuse this thing anyhow.' He did not tell me all the details (about the power and its manner of use), because I refused it.

"Another old man offered me that kind of medicine [love power] out of my appreciation of my good treatment of him, and did not get mad when I refused it."

One other old man, who liked his liquor, was on one occasion given a treat of it by The Boy and another man. Soon the old man was feeling pretty good and started to get generous and said to The Boy: "Now, my son, I am an old man now and I appreciate your giving me this drink, so much so that I am going to give you something worth something." It was this love medicine. But The Boy "refused him nicely" and did not take it.

One final illustration of refusal,—"just an old time story," Coming Daylight called it who related it,—may be given, the only case we recorded of penalty believed to follow refusal. Perhaps even in this case the refusal was not so much of power as of a request to hold a Sacrifice Lodge.

"A man was hunting north of the canyon [near the present St. Paul's mission in the Little Rockies] and was shown [by whom?] a nice clean big cave. In this cave were big strings, like a spider puts before he makes a whole web, that is one strand crossing the other at right angles. Right in the middle [at the intersection] was a medicine wheel, of the kind always used at the Sacrifice Lodge. The man just stood and gazed at it. He saw it good and it belonged to the Sacrifice Lodge. He camped in the mountains overnight. That night this wheel told him in his dream: 'You ought to take me so you can make this Sacrifice Lodge.' But the man did not take it. He went back to camp and told his dream and his refusal to take the wheel. After that he began to waste away with a sickness called 'cut away,' in which the flesh starts to disappear in a small place and just sinews show and then it spreads. It was a quick sickness and he died of it. They say this happened to him because he did not take that medicine wheel."

From what has been recorded on the preceding pages it seems quite clear that the individual was under little or no supernatural

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or social compulsion to seek power, and was subject to no penalty if he refused it when offered to him by supernatural beings or by fellow-tribesmen. In fact, a certain amount of social pressure was brought to bear upon him to avoid and refuse it. Each individual had to make his own free choice, weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, the profit against the cost. The decision to seek or refrain from seeking, to accept when offered or to refuse, was entirely up to him.

We have listed the disadvantages, the cost. What were the advantages, the profit? Chiefly prestige, material gains or wealth, and sex favors, depending on the type of power sought or accepted. The great warrior and the great doctor who attained eminence through power both enjoyed high prestige. Which of the two, warrior or doctor, ranked higher is hard to say. Both had very high standing and both were deeply respected. The Boy and Coming Daylight inclined to rank the great warrior a bit higher than the great doctor. In The Boy's word, "both had high standing, each in his own field. The warrior perhaps rated higher. The medicine man had standing, but only on certain occasions was he thought of. But a renowned warrior had the admiration of the tribe because he had risked his life and was a strategist and by his own efforts." According to Coming Daylight "it was the greatest thing to be a warrior and look for the enemy." Al Chandler leaned more to the view that "if a man was honest about his medicine,—so many times they [medicine men] faked and tried to got everything a person owned,—and was known to be honest, he was respected to the same degree as a warrior." All informants were however fully agreed that both warriors and doctors ranked high. Doctors who had power to kill and who were suspected of using it were more feared than respected. Men who had gambling powers ranked far below warriors and doctors in the prestige scale. Of one the most famous recent Gros Ventre possessors of gambling power The Boy remarked: "He was just a little fellow. He was just a gambler," and a man known to have gambler power could not be selected to the high office of Pipe-keeper. Likewise those who had love power were usually rather chary of advertising widely the fact as well as the source of their power.

Power thus in varying degrees conferred prestige, a much sought

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after good in Gros Ventre competitive life. Most types of power,—and not only power to acquire wealth directly,—brought material rewards. War raids had largely the purpose of acquiring horses, the main Gros Ventre wealth in earlier days, from the enemy.* Doctoring brought the practitioner large emoluments; gambling power netted the owner rich winnings. Love power, in addition to securing sex favors for its possessor, could also be a source of good profit through transfer by sale to others. Wealth among the Gros Ventres gave prestige on its own account as well as material ease and security. Further, wealth was inextricably tied up with prestige as goals sought through military, medicinal, gambling and love powers.

These were the chief advantages and profit or power which the individual had to weight against the disadvantages and cost thereof.

Many individuals, in view of the cost, neither sought nor accepted power, as we have seen.

Many others, however, men and women and even some young boys and girls, sought or accepted power, and such power was by no means confined to professional medicine men but was widely distributed among the laity. A few, but very few, children had power: the several cases recorded will be given later. But many women as well as men acquired it; what exact proportion of whole adult population is hard to say. The Boy, Thick concurring, stated: "Only a few men and women had ancestral helpers, but it was the usual thing for grownups, men and women, to have some kind of power." On another occasion, they said: "Not everyone tried to get power [by fasting on mountains] but only certain individuals. For instance, of three men only one might try, the other two might not care to try." On still another occasion, The Boy remarked: "Not all who slept on mountains got power. Lots got nothing; they didn't even dream. Only a few got power from such a quest. Some tried over and over again but never got anything. A man might spend five to seven days on the mountains and yet not even dream. If, say 30 or 40 slept on the mountains, only three or four of them might get power. Only a few Gros

*For discussion of Gros Ventres concept of wealth, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 73-79.

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778 Ventres, not many, had power. Males would start questing when
787 young, but older men would also go out to seek power. After a man got to be really old, he no longer tried." Charles Buckman had heard old men say that they had fasted and prayed (on the hills) over and over again but that in spite of the sufferings they thus endured "they never had even a dream," and, in another chat, he remarked that "few fasted and prayed."

[184] It seems, therefore, that many men did not go out on hills to seek power (women never did so), and that relatively few even of those who did go were successful. At least, very few were successful in acquiring really significant or great power. On the other hand, many, the majority perhaps of both men and women, had minor power or powers of one kind or another, gotten initially otherwise than by quest or by transfer. Thus for example, Coming Daylight, who had repeatedly refused curing powers offered her in dreams and who insisted she was in no sense a medicine woman or "holy," this is, power-possessing, woman, had certain herbal curatives, for family use, given her by her maternal grandmother and by her mother's sister, Good Singer, a noted medicine woman of earlier days. Or, to use just one other example, many women and men had bought love medicine from other men or women. These minor powers, of many different kinds not always distinguishable from non-magical knowledge and ability, were apparently very common,—"the usual thing," as The Boy expressed it above, "for grown-ups, men and women."

The Power Quest

787 The favorite time of the year for going out to seek war, wealth
827 and doctor power was spring. In The Boy's words: "It was known to be easier to get doctor power in spring. Everybody used to say that the young bear cubs used to wash their feet with the first rain of the spring. Bears were easy to get power from in spring. They were eager to give their power at this season. All nature is alive in spring. Grass, trees and leaves wake up. Hibernating animals used to sing before coming out of their winter dens. Bears come out of their hibernating dens after the first rain of spring. The body of even a human being is sort of stationary in winter

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787 latter he would be told by the offerer to go to some other designated mountain to get what he was seeking.

The length of time a man would stay out on the mountain varied, the range being apparently from one to seven days, and of course the nights too. Power might be given in full daylight as well as at night. Various informants mentioned one to seven days, five to seven days, seven days, two to four days, four days. Sometimes questers were given power the very first day or night; others, only on a later day or night; others still not on the first quest at all, even though they remained five or seven days, but only on a following quest or after repeated quests; others, finally, never got power, not even a dream, even though they went out over and over again on the hills to seek power. Great medicine-men got their full powers as a rule only after a number of years of repeated sleeping around on high buttes.

The recipient of power ordinarily got three things from the donor: a song, instructions on the rites to be observed in using the power, and some material object which was a symbol, and/or instrument vehicle of the power.

533 Singing, as we noted earlier (supra, p. 79), was originally
778 gotten by the Gros Ventres from Earthmaker at the time of the great flood and was confined to sacred occasions. Later it degenerated and became secular as well. But among the birds and animals it did not degenerate; it kept its pristine sacredness. And these birds and animals and other beings would give their songs to questers for power, to each successful quester a specific song for his own use in exercising the particular power given at the time.

As The Boy explained it: "From time immemorial every Gros Ventre rite or ceremony began with song. . . . And when the Gros Ventres went out on the hills or to the forests to seek power and were granted a hearing and were going to be given power by rock, forest, animal or other creature, the granting always began by a song. . . . It was remarkable how they [the questers] could memorize these songs that were sung [to them] by these several creatures, and the recipients never forgot these songs and always had them foremost in their minds and never altered them in any

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way. Others of course, learned them from the one to whom they were first given, but always sang them the same unaltered way." 533 778

An individual might have more than one kind of power, and hence more than one song. A doctor might have more than one doctoring song; Stiffarm, for example, had many. At any given time a great number of doctoring songs were in use by the many doctors. The four doctoring songs we recorded are only samplings. Only the person who acquired a power by quest or transfer had the right to sing the song or songs connected therewith except when requested to help sing with the owner at say a curing rite. A person who had acquired power songs could, if he desired, sing them in his lodge as bedtime songs.

The recipient of power was given and taught by the power-donor not only a song but also detailed instructions on other ritual procedures to be followed in exercising the specific power. These procedures will be described presently, in our section on power use and ritual.

At the time when power was bestowed, the recipient also got some power object. Sometimes they were given to him directly by the supernatural donor; sometimes the donor instructed the recipient where to find or how to make the power object, or just told him what kind of object to use. This object was often spoken of as the medicine or power of the possessor. So far as we could discover, the object was conceived of as more or less identical with the power or as the tangible embodiment, vehicle or instrument of it. The power object was consistently brought into play when the possessor made use of his power, as will be described later. A recipient might obtain at any given quest more than one such object from the donor. 787 778

These objects,—such as a weasel skin, otter skin, root, and so forth,—were commonly kept by the possessor in a skin bag as the possessor's medicine bundle. The Boy made a gift to us of the badger-skin medicine bag of his father, Lame Bull, who used to keep peppermint and a thunder-stone in it.

In many cases power objects were swallowed by the power-recipient when first given to him and were so retained within his body until he forfeited his power through breach of code or in-

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struction or until just before his death. In the latter case, these objects would come out of his body, usually his mouth, and if they were living things would shortly thereafter die, after which the person himself or herself died.

Thick's sister-in-law, an Assiniboine, whose Gros Ventre husband had been a sacred Pipe keeper, violated the rules by joining the Ghost Dance religion. Thick witnessed her death. "Just before she died, she said to her husband: 'Get me a dish.' She spat into it. We looked and found there a living (?) thunder-stone she had spat out. She spat again, and this time a little round rock. She spat a third time, a stem of fresh green peppermint. 'Now,' she said, 'I'll die. I have violated the rule laid down for me.' And so she died."

A coyote had given Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, yellow paint to swallow. "I saw it," Al stated, "when Little Man was dying because it came out then. . . . It was about 2½ inches long and about 2½ inches around. It was pure white clay on the outside. It was like you make a dough of the white clay and put the yellow inside and roll the white over the yellow."

Stiffarm and Little Man's brother were also present when Little Man was dying and knew this paint would come out when he died. They said: "We will see what made this old fellow so powerful." So they took this roll of white clay and broke it open, and the yellow paint poured out. "The brother was one of those who did not believe in such things," Al added, "and he certainly was surprised."

In the course of the curing procedure as carried out by Sits Holy, a miniature bear would stick its paw out of his mouth and would growl loudly enough to be heard all around; as carried out by White Weasel, he pulled a little animal, his medicine, out of himself; as carried out by Good Singer, she hit herself on the chest and a bead, her medicine, came out of her mouth, and at the end of the rite she swallowed it; as carried out by Little Man, a hail-stone, given him to swallow when he received child-birth power, was later disgorged and given to his patient to swallow.[11]

Lame Bull had been given doctoring power, to be used only

[11] The Crow Indians, The Boy stated, likewise swallow power objects.

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after a certain period of probation. He, however, broke the rule and doctored before his time was up. A night or so after he had doctored a spider came out of his ears and a thunder-rock out of his mouth, and so he lost his doctoring power.

Occasionally in connection with the power quest the right would be given to the quester to paint his lodge in a particular manner.[12] Among the Gros Ventre such sacred or holy painted lodges were relatively rare and were thought of very highly. We recorded one song (No. 88), a wordless one, which belonged with Bull Lodge's sacred lodge. Bull Lodge had been "invited" to quest for power at Baldy Butte, the highest peak in the Bear Paws. The being who gave him other powers also bestowed upon him his own lodge, with instructions how to paint it and the song to sing while it was being painted. Coming Daylight's father had a sacred lodge around the bottom of which were painted the figures of men, each figure the same and each with a feather in the head. The upper part was painted red. "At the tip of the ears of the lodge were things hanging, and feathers in back. The back part had a cross (morning star) and the sun."[13]

What has been said in the preceding pages about the circumstances of Gros Ventre quest may be illustrated by the following account given by Al Chandler of that of Little Man, his adoptive father:

"When Little Man first went out to seek power, the old medicine man (his tutor in the matter) told him: 'I am going with you.' So when they got out in the hills, maybe a whole day's travel to this place where he wanted to go, this old man asked Little Man where he wanted to go to fast and Little Man chose a place not very far away. So they went together. This old man cut his (Little Man's) flesh, took a pinch,—(some did it 3, 6, or 9 pinches), and prayed each time he cut a bit of flesh off. He told Little Man: 'Nobody is going to come after you until your time is up. If I tell you three days, nobody is coming after you until this time is up. In the meantime use your whole heart and don't get

[12] There was a distinction between the sacred painted lodges and the lodges painted with war deeds. Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 68, 102.

[13] For illustrations of sacred painted lodges, see Plate 4.

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Other Means of Acquiring Power

787 778 While in the majority of instances power, as initially acquired direct from power-giving beings, was gotten by quest, in a considerable minority of cases, it was so gotten in first instance without quest.

A man might be offered power, without quest on his part, when away hunting, or war raiding as in the following given us by Singer.

"A bunch of young men went afoot on the warpath. One of them had a pain in his leg, and it was so bad he could not travel further with the party. So they fixed him a shelter of wood, like they used to make, so he would be warm, and gathered some water in little paunch bags and hung them there, and piled up a lot of wood and dried meat, and left him there.

"He got so bad he couldn't even move his legs. As he slept he dreamed that a lot of little children came in and they had a boss. So the young man said: 'Where are you going? I am having a hard time with my leg-ache.' 'I had pity on you,' said the boss, 'so I came,' and then the boss added: 'I will give you my body [that is, Singer explained, I will give you some power]. As long as you live you will never have children, but I give you this,' and he gave the young man a little horn spoon and showed him a root, and said: 'When a woman is going to have a child you can always doctor her. Just one drink and the baby will be born.'

"When he woke up he found he was cured, so he hurried and caught up with his friends. They were surprised.

"This young man called his dream visitors 'little children,' but they were really 'ghost men.'" This is the only instance these beings were ever known by either Singer or Coming Daylight to have helped anybody.

Powers of various kinds were acquired without quest by keepers and co-keepers of the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe, as previously described. Not the least of these was doctoring power. Bull Lodge, for instance, was a medicine man before he got the Feathered Pipe; "But," Al Chandler added, "even if you were not a medicine man before you got the Pipe, you would be after you got it."

We recorded no instance of women going out in the hills to

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fast and cry for power. Coming Daylight, when asked about the matter, just laughed, and said: "they [women] never go out like men do." Commonly women were offered doctoring power in dreams at home, as in the several instances already noted. Singer was once offered power after she had made a sacrifice. Sometimes a woman was offered unsought power when wandering around outside camp or on the hills during mourning or in anger at her husband.

"Sometimes," said The Boy, "a woman would get angry at her husband and would go away and wander around alone, not fasting but eating when she could and drinking. Sometimes such a woman would get power. Something or some animal would take pity on her and give her power. . . . Sometimes too a woman who had been captured by the enemy would make her escape and on her way back home would sleep out alone and would acquire power . . . a woman does not ask [by questing on mountains] for power. Power comes to her. When mourning for relatives and sleeping out [away from camp] and suffering without food, somebody might take pity on her and give her power without her asking." "Women," remarked Singer, "When they lost a loved one, would go up into the mountains and cry themselves to sleep, and that is when a lot of them would get power."[14]

Like women, very young children did not go out on the hills to fast for power. The occasional very young boy or girl who got power got it without formal quest. Coming Daylight's offer and refusal of power at the early age of eight years has been previously recorded. The Boy mentioned one case in which during a smallpox epidemic all the members of a certain family died except two children, a boy and a girl. The two children continued to stay alone at the spot. A bear came. The girl, after the two returned, became a "holy" woman.

Keg, the boyhood friend of Lame Bull, The Boy's father, was given power, without his seeking it, one early morning while he was out looking after the family horses. The boy, then only about ten years old fell asleep and dreamed he saw a big hand game going on for high stakes and one fellow taking all the winnings. On

[14] For examples, see Flannery, 1953, p. 206.

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787 778 looking more closely Keg saw that the fellow was he, Keg, himself. The fellow said: "Do as you see me doing here. Use my throat as an object (button) to hide." Then Keg woke up and saw nearby a covey of prairie chickens at their mating dance. Keg was so given gambling power by the prairie chicken(s), and was a very successful gambler, from that time on.[18]

778 424 425 Acquisition of power directly and in first instance from a power-giving being gave the acquirer right of exclusive ownership and use of the power. The power was a gift from the being to the human individual, and became the latter's property to be exclusively held and used by him, as would any gift given him outright by a fellow Gros Ventre. The owner could however transfer it, in most cases, by sale or gift. The Boy and Thick explained the main features of the system as follows: "The individual who acquired the power, and he alone, would use it. He would not part with it unless someone bought it from him. . . . In case of purchase he would teach the buyer the secret of how to use the power. Then too the owner of the power might transfer it without remuneration to one of his children if the owner lived to old age and had [living] children; he might do this rather than have the secret of the power die with him and do no one any good." On other occasions The Boy, speaking particularly of doctoring power, further explained: "While a doctor had many power songs, no other doctor had a right to sing these songs, unless the doctor-owner transferred his power to the other. . . . If someone else knew what plant a given doctor used and tried himself to use it, he could not get results, because he would not know the songs and rites to use with it. . . . Even though he should know the songs and rites as well as the plants, it would have been very wrong to try to use them. . . . Only the one who had [acquired] the power had the right to practice it. If everybody had been free to practice it, there would have been no use for the doctor to have gone through such hardship [fasting, etc.] to acquire it."

Power acquired in first instance as a gift from a power-bestowing being, although exclusively owned by the recipient, could be under

[18] For further details, see Flannery and Cooper, 1946, pp. 407-08.

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certain conditions, to be described as we go along, transferred by gift or sale, loaned, or delegated. 778 424 425

Individuals who had personal ancestral helpers practiced no kind of transfer, loan or delegation. After all, such helpers were in no sense "owned" by or the property of these individuals. The concept of the ancestral helper is fundamentally different from that of power in this as in most other respects.

While we obtained records of many instances of transfer, by sale or gift, of war, doctor, and love power, we obtained none of transfer of gambling power. Whether it was transferable at all is a point we could not fully clear up; more probably it was not, but at any rate actual transfer either did not occur or must have been excessively rare. According to The Boy: "Nobody wanted their [gamblers'] power. It became so that it was non-transferable. . . . There were some [possessors of power], and among these was the gambler, who would not transfer."

A transferee could not, so far as we could discover, retransfer power by sale or gift to a third party, except perhaps power to be lucky, especially invulnerable, in warfare. Our field data on this point are slim.

While women sometimes, as we have seen, got power direct from power-giving beings, very commonly,—"mostly" The Boy stated,—the powers they possessed were acquired by transfer from men, or from women.

Initiative in transfer could be taken either by the owner of a given power or by the party wishing to purchase it.

When power was transferred either by sale or by gift, the transferrer carefully taught the transferee all the songs, rites, objects and taboos that pertained to the power in question.

So much for transfer in general. We now turn to certain aspects, first of transfer by sale, and after that of transfer by gift.

Transfer by sale of doctoring power, at least of major doctoring power, was, according to The Boy and Thick, uncommon; that of love power, rather common.

A man who had by quest acquired doctoring power could transfer it by sale to a maximum of four people. After the fourth transfer, he, according to The Boy, "would have exhausted it so far as he 778 425

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778 425 himself was concerned, he had transferred it all away," and "had made himself negative again," that is no longer subject to the penalties of power possession. This first possessor was, so long as he kept his power, "a big fellow, but after he had transferred it to the four other people [men and/or women], there were now four big people, and he was such no more, so far as power was concerned and had no right even to sing the songs [proper to this power]. He was right where he had started [before acquiring this power]. The four could then go on and do just what he did when he alone possessed the power and they could [each, apparently] scatter it in four other different directions transfer it to four others." Such multiple diffusion by transfer did not, it seems, proceed far in actuality. "Scholars," as The Boy explained, "may all go through the same school under one great teacher, but seldom if ever do they all equal the teacher,—maybe only one, if any, will. So not all who got power by transfer were successful with the power because maybe they did not do or avoid doing all that the transferrer told them to do and avoid doing. So after a while the transferred power just died out."

832 778 425 Love power, or love medicine serving as the vehicle of power, could, however, in contrast to doctoring power, be transferred by the owner, at least the original one, to any number of people. It could be "transferred without limit and sold. The things," The Boy added by way of comment, "that were better for social life were limited. Love medicine [or power] was limitless, unless the possessor stopped gathering the root or bark or whatever it was he used to do his stuff."

Whether in cases of transfer by sale of doctoring power by a man to a woman the granting of sex intercourse by the woman was always and *de rigueur* the payment or part of the payment, is not quite clear from our field data. But that it was not uncommonly required is beyond question; in cases of man-to-woman sale transfer of love power, it was very common, in fact the usual thing, and seemingly more or less *de rigueur* to validate the transfer. When a woman sought such love power from a man who possessed it, she would watch her chance when his wife was not around and secretly carry out this part of the bargain. If the transferrer were

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a woman, one of her adult male kin might be chosen by her to have sexual intercourse with the woman transferee.

To judge from the many anecdotes in circulation about this sex element in transfer payment, anecdotes dating mostly from quite recent decades in the memory of informants, it was a very common topic of gossip and of grapevine communication.

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Transfer of power by gift, appears on the whole to have been much more common than transfer by sale. This accords with the general Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of other kinds of property. The Gros Ventre sold little; he gave much. Property changed hands within the tribe much more by donation than by barter.[16]

Gifts of power were made either to relatives or to friends, and while the giver still had his or her health, though perhaps of advanced age, and not ordinarily at least, on his death bed. A number of cases of offer to transfer by gift doctoring and love power during the possessor's lifetime have been previously given. War power, according to The Boy, "was commonly given, without payment, to a son or brother." "War medicine," according to Al Chandler, "was passed down from generation to generation; Bull Lodge gave his sons (Curly Head and Otter Robe) their war powers. Curly Head was a medicine man but Otter Robe was more of a warrior. Little Man, my adopted father, had some kind of war medicine from his brother, when his brother got killed Little Man took this medicine (a sparrow-hawk and a shirt) from him to keep it, and to use it."[17] While war power might pass down in a family, we obtained no clear instance of such transmission by inheritance proper, in the sense of transfer to take effect only upon the death of the transferrer.

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Our data, all from The Boy, on loan and delegation of power, as distinct from outright transfer, are meager. "An owner of power to be lucky in warfare so as not to be shot could lend this to somebody, and if the owner were going to die he could tell the borrower to keep it." "Sometimes, when a man with medicine power was appealed to come and doctor somebody, he could say to his wife:

[16] For details, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 80-87.

[17] Some of Bull Lodge's war medicines are illustrated in Flannery, 1953, Plate 3; cf. also p. 92.

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778 426 'Wife, I transfer this power to you. You go and doctor this time. I don't feel like doctoring today.' But before this she would have always accompanied him in his curing practice and knew exactly what to do and sing." Such a "transfer" was purely an *ad hoc* delegation, not a surrender of his power.

Power could be completely lost by the owner either during his lifetime or at death. During the owner's lifetime it could be lost by persistent disuse, by complete and final transfer through sale or gift, by "using it up," and as a result of breach of the rules. Where, for instance, a man had power to cure only a limited number of people, say four, with the conclusion of his fourth cure, the power was "used up" and so ceased. A certain Gros Ventre who had power to cause rain and storms made much use of it in a battle with the Crow but finally used it up and was killed by them.

If a person with power had not transferred it, on his deathbed the power embodied in or associated with some material object or living thing within him would come out of him, usually out of his mouth, and so his power would die with him. Even though the root or medicine he had used but had not transferred was known to others, they would not be allowed after his death to use it in curing. Thus lots of good medicines were not used, even though they were known to be efficacious.

Use of Powers

778 We now come to rites and procedures followed in the exercise of powers for war, gambling, love and various miscellaneous purposes, including legerdemain. A consideration of the use of the very important doctoring power is reserved for separate treatment in a subsequent chapter.

The great majority of those who went out in quest of power sought power to be great warriors and to become wealthy. The two aims were ordinarily closely related. A major goal of most [721 war parties was the acquisition of horses,—the chief wealth of 556] the Gros Ventres in the old days. Both success in war and possession of wealth brought prestige, and such prestige in the individualistic competitive culture of the Gros Ventre was eagerly sought after.

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War power usually included both a positive aspect, outstanding success in killing, wounding and capturing enemies and in taking booty, especially horses, and a negative one, luck in escaping injury. Little Man's brother had power to make his horse run so fast in war that no other horse could overtake it.

Those who sought wealth power asked mostly to have many horses, not to be poor, and "to get things easy without much effort."

"My grandmother's brother," Coming Daylight related, "the first Crow Bull went to McCann Butte in the Bear Paws to sleep. The people were camped at the bottom near the lake, and from an opening in the mountains on the other side of the lake they saw a lot of white horses come to the lake. Crow Bull was told in his dream: 'These are all your horses.' It is claimed that everybody else saw them too. After that Crow Bull always had white horses. People gave him white horses and he brought white horses home from war."

Cora Chandler had heard a similar story about Bear Nose who slept at the same spot. He saw (in a dream, probably) a lot of prairie dogs and was told: "These are your horses." Cora commented: "I knew the day when Bear Nose had only buckskin horses,"—of the color of prairie dogs.

On both the preceding cases, the two men who got power only to own all these horses, although, Cora thought, Bear Nose also had lots of other powers.

As regards war-power ritual we gathered only a few details, mostly from Al Chandler regarding his adoptive father, Little Man, and from Garter Snake regarding her father, Bull Lodge.

Little Man got from his brother who was killed in battle the latter's war medicine. The brother's power objects were: the dried skin of a sparrow hawk [Flaco Sparverius] with the head, claws and feathers; a shirt, tailored like an ordinary shirt, but kept painted yellow all the time and with "little holes all over it even on the sleeves and with hawk feathers on the shoulders and some on the back." The yellow paint and holes presumably symbolized the predominant rufous and buff coloring and spotted belly and sides of this fast flier. When the brother went to war, he would put this dried hawk skin on his back, and take a "little fuzzy feather" from the wing and tie it on his horse's tail, and the power

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778 721 would make his horse go so fast that no other horse could catch up with it. Little Man himself did not go out war-raiding, but once when he and some of his people while on a journey were waylaid by Piegans, he used the hawk medicine as his brother had done, and in the fight no Gros Ventre casualties occurred but three Piegan were killed. In later days, Little Man put a feather from this hawk on the horse Smokey, an entrant in the two-mile [525] and mile races at the Fair, and the horse came in first in both races within less than an hour, while Little Man won $75.00.

Al Chandler added that "every man's war medicine was different" but gave no further details.

Garter Snake told the following story of Bull Lodge's power in the war-wealth field. "Otter Robe, his son, once came in, there being a lot of young men in there, and said to his father: 'Father, we are going out on a war party and we want to steal horses from the enemy. Could you help us so the enemy will not be able to see us and we will have luck to get these horses?' Bull Lodge replied: 'All right. I will try to see if I can. If I can I will tell you.' So he told his wife: 'Get that wooden bowl and that colt hide [objects he used in his practice]'. He smudged them four times, then set the bowl down and covered it with the colt hide, and they put out the fire. I was sitting there beside my mother. . . . When my father got through, we heard nicks and neighs of horses in that bowl. We did not see anything [any horses] but only heard them, and Bull Lodge said to his son: 'You are going to be lucky. You will get the horses.' Then he removed the colt hide and there [in the bowl] was horse manure. This he took and gave to Otter Robe and said: 'Take and dry this. And when you go out [on the raid] and get to the enemy's camp, make a smudge of a certain thing, take the manure, pulverize it, and sprinkle the powder all around the smudge. If you do this and go into that camp, the enemy are not going to see you. You can steal all the horses you want. And after you leave with the horses, there will be a big fog in that camp, so that the enemy cannot see you or follow you.' And that is what happened. The raiders got horses and brought them home, and the fog protected them."

778 525 Gambling power was gotten only for use in the old two-button hand games. So far as our evidence goes, the possessor could use

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his power only when he was an active participant in the game. Keg, who had gotten gambling power from a prairie chicken, would, when using this power in a hand game, imitate the hissing, swishing noise made by the prairie chickens when they ruffle their tail feathers. He had been given by the prairie chicken its windpipe to use in the hand game, and for this he made use of a small metal spring resembling the windpipe. Red Whip, famous for his great gambling power, used a weasel skin in exercising this power. A player with power who was losing in a game might half seriously voice an appeal: "What is the matter with you, prairie chicken (or ghost)? You are failing me."

Only certain songs could be sung in a two-button hand game; others, such as doctors' songs or medicine lodge songs, could not then be sung. If one of the players had a gambling power song, gotten in a dream from a prairie chicken or ghost, he would start singing it and others would join in. Gambling songs were sung in fast time to the accompaniment usually of small hand drums, the players marked time by striking with sticks the logs that lay stretched in front of each team. After a game was well under way, in the excitement, grunts would often take the place of songs.

We recorded two gambling songs for the old hand game, numbers 107 and 108, as sung by The Boy.

Love power, more common than gambling power, was acquired, by quest or transfer, to attain various ends: by a man to secure sex favors from women who were reluctant to grant them, or who had not only rejected his advances but had privately or publicly met them with insult;[18] by a jilted lover to win back the jilting man or woman; by a man or woman to win over a desired but unwilling prospective marital mate; by a wife to win back the affections and fidelity of a husband who was running around with other women.

We could obtain very little information on the rites carried out when love power was used. Our chief informant on love power, The Boy, had been offered it on various occasions but had never accepted it, so had not been told the ritual procedures to use, procedures about which the possessors of love power were ap-

[18] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 174, 193.

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778 832 parently rather secretive. A root or bark designated by the being that bestowed the power was commonly used, and in some cases a looking glass. A very little bit, just a pinch, of one root or bark was used at a time, and seemingly might be rubbed on a looking glass that was "all painted up and decorated."

778 Before concluding this section on rituals and procedures followed when the major powers—war, wealth, gambling and love—were used, some scattered data may be given on rituals and procedures used with other powers.

Lame Bull, The Boy's father, had clairaudience power from a crow. To use it he would rub his ears with earth, as the crow had told him to do.

Mary Ereaux related the following incident. "My brother-in-law, White Weasel, a great medicine man, once came with his wife in a wagon to visit me. I was busy in the kitchen and after supper came in to the front room, the bedroom, to visit with my guests. White Weasel would kind of groan and say how tired he was, but I didn't think anything of this. Finally, he said: 'My, I have been just dropping and throwing hints and I find I have a hard-hearted sister-in-law. I pretend like I am so tired and here she has three bottles of whiskey in her bedroom and she never offers me a drink. There is one flask that is half empty, a second with the seal unbroken, another in a black leather case.' I was so surprised that he knew all that. My mother told me he could see it but I knew he had not left that corner of the room. . . . This was really a proof of his medicine power." She added: "When White Weasel had a few drinks he would start singing tea dance songs. My mother could then hear a woman's voice singing with him. She said it was a good sweet voice. It was not his wife singing. She could not hear the voice nor could I. Once in a while you would come across someone who, like my mother, could hear it. It was like a vision which some see but which others present cannot see."

Chief Grass on one occasion, when a war party he was with was bothered by a poltergeist, took an arrow, rolled buffalo hair around the arrowhead, singed it a little and spat on it. Then he shot the arrow and subdued the ghost. "Chief Grass had power and this, it was believed, was his way of using it."

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In two of the battles described by The Boy weather power was used. In one, when seven Gros Ventre warriors were surrounded in a piece of brush by a body of Crows and the latter set fire to the brush to rout the Gros Ventres out, one Gros Ventre, a quiet and unassuming man, "used a bone whistle and did other things," and shortly rain came and put out the fire. This man's war-charm, an otter skin, was captured by the Crows in this battle, and the Gros Ventres learned later from the Crows that whenever the latter mounted this otter skin trophy on a pole, as at a scalp dance, rain came with thunder and lightning. Finally the Crows got scared, carried the otter skin over on the hills and left it there, "and the thunder left them alone."

In another battle, this time with a party of Sioux, the Gros Ventres had taken a scalp, and were retreating with the Sioux in pursuit. Morning-Star-Appears (Rising Cross), a Gros Ventre warrier who had a ghost helper, "sang a song, used a robe as cover to enclose himself and said, 'We wish rain.' " In no time a heavy cloudburst, with thunder and lightning broke, and the Gros Ventres,—among them Stiffarm, then a very young man,—escaped under cover of the rain and semi-darkness.[19]

Garter Snake, daughter of Bull Lodge, gave us the following story:

"The Crows were camping on the north bank of the Yellowstone when a May snowstorm came. It snowed four days and four nights, and the snow drifted far up the lodge sides and horse-high, except where blown clear on elevated exposed spots. On the fourth day, at noon, the Crows came to Bull Lodge with a pipe and some things. They offered him the pipe and of course he didn't take it right away, but said: 'What is this for?' They said: 'We know you are a holy man [one with power]. You [can] do almost anything and we are asking you to make this storm quit. If you don't we shall all perish.' He told them: 'All right, that is easy.' And they gave him that stuff: 'Here are the things we give you.'

"So he told his wife: 'Stand up a pole good and solid in the back of the lodge.' She did so. Then he said: 'Take down that shield.' This was the shield he had dreamed about. He then

[19] See Cooper, 1944, p. 72.

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778 821 smudged the shield and hung it up on the pole, then he got his Feather Pipe drum and started to sing. As he sang the third time, and of course prayed and went through the [ritual] motions, and a sun ray showed right on the shield. The Crows were in the lodge and they all saw this and they prayed. And he said: 'I have one more song.' So he sang the fourth one and after he got through he said to one of the men: 'You go out and see what has happened.' The man went out and it was still snowing but right in the heavens was a little round hole [clear spot] which gradually enlarged and the sun shone. That is how Bull Lodge cleared the weather."

789 We now come to use of powers of legerdemain. Such powers were ordinarily looked upon as "supernatural" in origin and nature. We have already given many illustrations of such legerdemain as integral elements in ritual power-use, we shall now give the illustrations of it as used in purely or predominantly secular contexts.

Such feats are attributed to various individuals. According to Mary Ereaux, Sits-in-the-Midddle on one occasion when the party was out of tea, "made tea for them and they thought that was great." An unnamed medicine man was reputed to be able to swallow a "chunk of coal" [probably hot embers].

The two most outstanding masters of legerdemain known to our informants were Bull Lodge (d. ca. 1886) and Stiffarm (d. ca. 1935). According to Al Chandler, Stiffarm got his legerdemain power from Bull Lodge, and actually his feats and procedures (such as use of a handkerchief) duplicate almost exactly Bull Lodge's so far as they go.

Here follows our fullest account of Bull Lodge's feats, as given us by his daughter, Garter Snake, with some details interpolated in parentheses, from Charles Buckman (CB) and Al Chandler (AC).

"When my father slept at Baldy [Baldy Butte, in the Bear Paws] . . . he was given the power of doctoring, and he was given wealth, and the power then to make tobacco, matches, sugar, tea, and even coffee. These are the articles he made. In winter time his sons would go out and get cherry brush. He would put

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'Little Man,' had been bewitched and cured, he fell sick again. A man was called in to doctor him. He did his medicine work and drew out a small rattlesnake with shining eyes from Little Man's forehead. Meanwhile I had built a fire. I asked the man to let me look at that snake and he told me: 'When you have finished, hand it back to me.' But I threw it in the fire. He did not say anything but gathered up his medicines, jammed them in his bag, and went out. He took the mare given in payment and gave it away at once to another person. . . . Little Man did not know what to make of my action. I told him: 'I burned up his old rotten medicine.'

"I know I could not escape death [some time] so I was not afraid of him (the man). Some others would be scared of a medicine man like him, but not I. He did not put medicine on me. He was my neighbor, however, and after that he avoided me like he was ashamed. . . . Little Man really had kidney trouble and that man fooled around his head!"

"Stiffarm," Coming Daylight also said, "had some power concerning children, for he wore a bracelet from which hung little dolls, one on each side thereof. . . . My husband, Little Man, used to make fun of Stiffarm for wearing this bracelet, but he would never tease him outright [in his presence]. After Stiffarm would leave, Little Man would say: 'What is that crazy thing doing with such a bracelet?' "

Bull Lodge, Garter Snake's father, a great medicine man, who died about 1886, had gotten power to cure various ailments. From Garter Snake were obtained some details, many of them confirmed independently by The Boy, of the ritual procedures used by Bull Lodge. His chief operating instrument was a woodpecker feather.

"Now I will tell how my father doctored," Garter Snake volunteered. "On one occasion his granddaughter was ill and called him. His wife and I went along with him. On our arrival this granddaughter said: 'Grandfather, I would make coffee for you but I haven't any sugar.' But he got mad and said: 'Everytime you ask me here you ask me to make sugar. I am tired of this. If you had the power I have, would you like to be making it all the time?' Well, instead of quitting asking, she took a pack (?) and threw it to him and said: 'make that sugar.' So he went through

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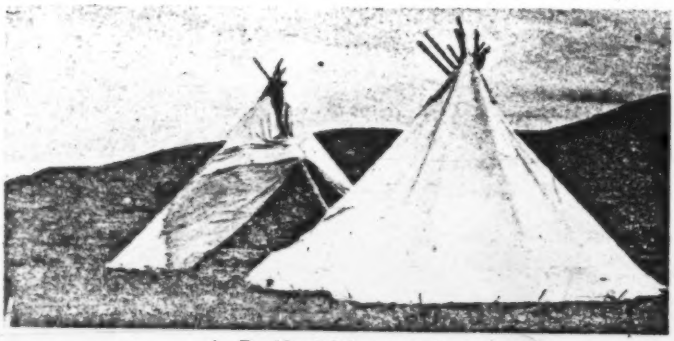

A. *Double tipi for ceremony.*

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B. *The Boy prays with ordinary pipe.*

[516
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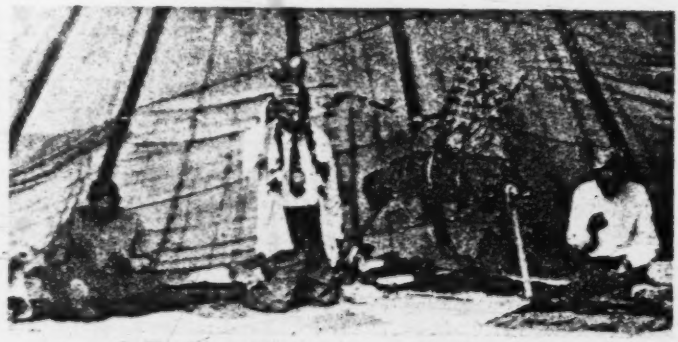

C. *The Boy smudges rattles over Flat Pipe hearth.*

PLATE I

[p.425]

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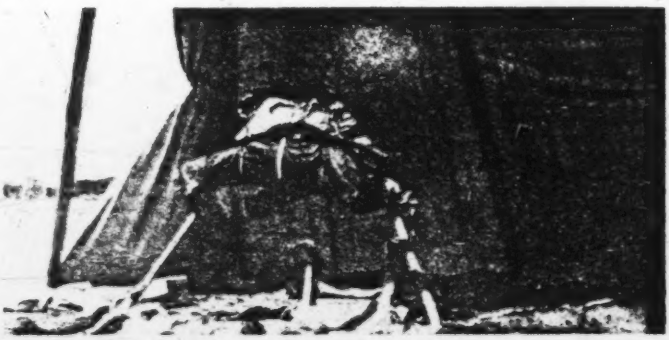

A. *Flat Pipe bundle on tripod.*

B. *Setting at opening of Feathered Pipe ceremonial.*

C. *Drum hung on tripod.*

PLATE 2

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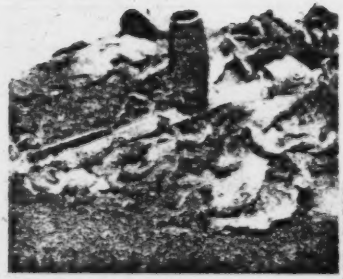
A. *Unwrapping Feathered Pipe bundle at hearth.*

B. *Contents of bundle.*



C. *One of the pipes in the bundle.*

D. *Iron Man II holding a pipe from bundle.*

PLATE 3

[p.427]